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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2075



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16 November 1982

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ZMW LEADERS INTERVIEWED ON UNION'S PROGRAMS, INTENTIONS

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 29, 29 Aug 82 pp 8, 9

✓[Interview with Waldemar Swirgon, chairman, and Kazimierz Janik, secretary of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] National Board [ZK] by Maria Kalinska; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] This interview is the first of a series of articles presenting the programs and aims of organizations operating within the academic community. A teacher often serves to inspire the initiatives and activities of young people. Even when the teacher is not personally involved in the youth movement, this movement is a vital element of the upbringing front. Thus, the teacher must know what assistance he may count on from the youth unions.

[Question] Let us begin with some background information. How did ZMW originate; how long has it been in existence?

[Waldemar Swirgon] Usually, when we characterize the ZMW [Rural Youth Union], we start by saying that alongside the scout union, the ZMW is a historic Polish youth organization. It is one of two that endure, that seek their place under changing historical situations, that both continue the past and are something new. The ZMW has achieved something that no other organization could: it has been reborn for the third time. The first time was in 1944, then in 1957 and now, following August 1980. All other organizations, such as the ZWM, OMTUR [Youth Organization of the Society of Workers' Universities], the ZMP [Polish Youth Union] and the ZMS [Union of Socialist Youth] after being dissolved or amalgamated did not arise again. However, this is not a vagary of history; the enduring nature of society's interests and the vitality of the aspirations of the community demonstrate the social need for such an organization.

It is interesting that in 1980, five new organizations beside the ZMW arose: the Union of Democratic Youth [ZMD], the Independent Students' Association [NZS], the Polish Student Union [PZA] and the Communist Union of Polish Youth [KZMP]. Only the ZMW, however, survived the barrier of 13 December, regaining its internal stability, developing and broadening its base. This also proves that real interests and authentic social needs are the basis of our program. Our membership likewise proves this.

[Question] Are they not merely a statistic?

[W.S.] No, they are normal, living people who have not lost their ideals and who are committed ideologically. They are people who have their own interests and who wish to implement them in the union. While these interests are sometimes contradictory to the interests of other social groups, they are in conformity with the interests of the socialist state. They wish to make many changes in the state and in the system for the sake of rural areas, for the sake of the socioprofessional advancement of rural youth.

[Question] How many members do you have?

[W.S.] We have about 200,000 members. The movement is a social movement both legally and in practice. The average voivodship organization, numbering several thousand members, has four to five permanent employees. This is an important factor that protects the organization against being dominated by the bureaucracy. In addition, at least three-fourths of the members of every element of authority must be social activists. We believe that this is the best safeguard against the alienation at the "top."

[Question] How many of the 200,000 are teachers?

[W.S.] There are not many teachers--we estimate about 500 to 600 persons.

[Question] Why are they so few?

[W.S.] This is often the case because when the organization was started they were in other unions. Moreover, the ZMW arose as an organization that nobody wanted--it was too socialist for the opposition and too rebellious and peasant-oriented for the authorities. Hence, neither those who sought solutions in the extremist right nor those who confuse loyalty with unquestioning obedience are found in our membership. The ZMW is composed of rural youth, mainly agricultural and from institutions serving rural areas, with only a minority of the intelligentsia. I think that this proves that the organization was not imposed, but developed naturally.

[Question] However, you cannot exist without the intelligentsia, especially teachers.

[W.S.] We cannot exist without them, and I believe that teachers will join us. Without them, this would not be a natural movement. If we define the ZMW as a movement of the community, then all current forces and trends within the community must be a part of it.

[Question] Especially when it is such a significant group.

[W.S.] Teachers have always been the harbingers of social initiatives and the foundation of rural intellectual and social life. Today this current is weakened by comparison with past years. I remember how in Jaslikowo near Krasnostaw, where I lived for many years, teachers organized state holidays, first of May celebrations, New Year's Eve and St. Andrew's Eve festivities

with equal fire fervor and success, and how this "circle" was the center of cultural and social life. We would like to return to these relations.

I think that it is difficult to overestimate the role of the teacher in our union. A special social commission of teachers as advisers of school organizations has arisen. We are turning to them for help. We are asking that among their social obligations they consider the obligation to help rural youth to find the proper forms of action, to build anew and destroy what must be destroyed.

The organization is preparing a program of activities on behalf of rural teachers. I note here our efforts to extend the government housing construction program beyond large cities and to include the entire rural intelligentsia wherever possible. We are undertaking actions to supply rural areas with books; we are organizing brush-up courses to upgrade teachers' qualifications. Our program is in the developmental phase.

[Question] Teachers themselves could introduce many things.

[W.S.] We are counting on them. We are trying to break through their mistrust. We understand that this will not happen overnight; it is a process spread out over time.

[Kazimierz Janik] I would like to return for a moment to one of the opening subjects in this interview. Waldek [Swirgon], in speaking of the ZMW's historical role did not bring up one of the essential characteristics of the organization, emanating from its mingling of generations. When the movement was reborn, the ZMW arose primarily in schools where older teachers still remembered the first or second ZMW. At that time we turned to older activists and sympathizers for their help, for which we now thank them.

[Question] This brings us to the schools. What is the nature of the school organization?

[K.J.] It should arise out of the natural needs of young people and teachers alike. The teacher must know that the ZMW is one of the components of the teaching-upbringing process. I am speaking primarily of agricultural schools that prepare the student to return to work in rural areas. It is very important that this be understood in academic communities, for example. Whether a teacher will be a natural caretaker or someone merely assigned by the office will depend in large part on whether he was a member of the organization as a student, whether he feels emotionally tied to the organization.

[W.S.] Both rational interests and irrational feelings must mesh with the organization. Hence, the historicity of the ZMW, on which we have placed so much emphasis, is important. There are still people who cherish fond remembrances of their work with the ZMW from decades back. This is a tremendous advantage.

[K.J.] Let us return, however, to the nature of the ZMW in the school. It seems extremely important to me that as an element of the teaching-upbringing

program, it expands the teaching and training program, becoming one of the components of civic and social upbringing. Waldek mentioned the decline of cultural and social life in rural areas. This also happened because the intelligentsia who came to the village was not sensitive to it and did not know how to join into the activities of the rural community.

[Question] It also happened because they often treated their stay in the village as an incidental part of their lives and did not see themselves as members of the rural community. They went there to "wait things out" until they could find something permanent in the city.

[K.J.] Yes, they did. This degraded the village, relegating its role to that of a concentration of producers rather than a normal community with a vibrant social life.

[Question] To summarize this part of our interview--you assume that beginning this September, the gradual stabilization will cause you to venture into the student and teacher community.

[W.S.] Yes, we do. The distinction here is important. We expect to make a broader entry into the teacher's community. There was a stage in which the ZMW established the organization in the schools against the teachers. This stage must end, since the resultant situations are detrimental to upbringing. In the debate over the function of the youth organization--is it ideological, political or a trade union--even if we assume that it should fulfill all of the functions needed by young people, one of these is primary. All of our activities serve upbringing goals. That is why when the organization arises in schools out of rebellious impulses, against the teachers, it does not fulfill its tasks. That is why we hope to act more closely with teachers beginning in September, to close the pioneering period of ZMW school boards, which were sometimes treated as a political foundling.

[Question] This shows that you do not want to act in opposition to the school or alongside the school--as it sometimes happened as a result of the private actions of individual organizers--but that you consider yourselves to be one of the elements of the country's upbringing system.

[K.J.] Beginning with the new academic year, a new stage will be initiated in the school organization and in the union in general. Recent political decisions, especially decisions of the ninth PZPR KC [Central Committee] plenum, have opened this stage. For us this means that the period of the ZMW's struggle for existence has ended; our existence is assured.

[Question] You are a recognized entity.

[K.J.] We are. Our trump card is the fact that our general program, the program that we present to school age youth, is not a program imposed from above. The organization will prove its arguments by building the sort of grassroots program that is needed both in school and in the surrounding community. Although the specifics of the implementation of the programs in particular communities will differ, these programs must correspond with one another closely.



[W.S.] In rural areas, as everywhere, there is an urgent need to break down the fences around the school. A fence surrounding the school is a fence between the teacher and the community; it prevents the teacher from fulfilling any culture-creating functions in the community. It means that for 2 hours students train on a school court under the teacher's supervision, and on the other side of the fence, a large group of young people from the ZMW and LZS [People's Sports Union] circle plays soccer in a field or pasture. These fences must be broken down, and the ZMW wants to take part in this, not by namecalling, accusations or criticizing the teachers for being egoists and the farmers for not opposing these actions. We wish to do this by creating incentives, natural solutions that make the teacher want to return to the village, to live there where he works, that make him feel needed and a part of the organization in which he worked at his institution of higher learning.

[Question] In other words, you are dreaming of a program of integrating the school with the community in which it functions, rather than a program of ZMW activity in the school.

[W.S.] Yes, we are. Our dream is to create a program of ZMW activity for the community of which the school is a vital element.

[K.J.] We realize that we are not the only ones able to remedy the rural situation in the area of culture, tourism, recreation and sports and education. We envisage being the ally of the school; the school will be our ally, and our organization will be one of the components of the reborn social movement. This is also important with regard to the anticipated results of such activities and the fact that a union member will always be taking part in endeavors of a unified nature; he will be subjected to a uniform type of influence.

[W.S.] The traditional social institutions that once made the rural community active and alive still exist there. This climate was created by the school, the LZS, the Volunteer Fire Brigade, the Rural Women's Circle and the ZMW. We would like to return to this structure, to work to recreate it, to become once again one of its elements.

[Question] Let us return once again to the roots and traditions to which you refer in terms of their role in the community. What links the earlier organizations: ZMW "Wici," and ZMW RP "Wici" [the Republic of Poland ZMW "Wici"] the ZMW from 1957 to 1976 and the present ZMW?

[W.S.] While in our declaration and program we refer to traditions, and in our documents and regulations we allude to their predecessors, we are a new organization. The times, Poland and we have changed. We are linked by the fact that these unions were always there for the community, for the people of the community. The famous Wici motto "Upbringing Within the Group" is still current. Moreover, we do not wish to force human development: we wish to create the conditions for development in the organization.

[Question] Do not carve out his character; let him develop himself.

[W.S.] Yes, we wish to create conditions that clearly define the goals of this development. This is determined by the nature of the organization as an upbringing organization of society and also an organization that sets up the social relations enabling each person to feel himself an individual in full possession of his rights.

Various arguments are now being carried on in the popular movement among activists of former years. What should be carried over into our times from the "Wici" traditions, and what from the ZMW traditions? I think that bidding on history does nothing but stir up new divisions. I think that these traditions are equally valid, but different. They are a reflection of the times in which they arose. Today we must make an assessment of history and reject whatever is unacceptable. From the ZMW from 1957 to 1976, we must reject submission to the immediate interests of the authorities and its contempt for the systemic interests of the state as a state of workers and peasants, a state ruled by the people. What is unacceptable from "Wici" is that part of its legacy that was a program of oppositionist political organization to the "sanacja" state.

[Question] At that time, this program was justly oppositional. Today, without accepting their oppositionism, you accept their tradition.

[W.S.] We accept their tradition and all of their work methods--their positivism and organic work, their work up from the grassroots, upbringing within the group, in the family, for society, for the state. We reject those elements that were elements of systemic opposition. Today we define the ZMW as an organization of essential opposition founded upon the systemic and constitutional solutions of socialism, together with the leadership role of the party and the need for close cooperation with the ZSL.

What links the organization with its predecessors is its opting for modernity and progress. Both "Wici" up to 1939 and its successor reached out for what was new, tried to make the impossible possible and destroyed the old order, not in terms of traditions, but in terms of the obsolete. Today we adopt their methods and values, but we reject whatever is now obsolete. We wish to preserve the permanent achievements of the form of work of our predecessors; for example, we are trying to reactivate the People's Universities. One of these has already started up, and we expect two others to commence soon.

[Question] We spoke of a program of actions whose common denominator is to break down the social stagnation that exists in the village, to build a normal social community where there now exists only a loosely knit cluster of producers. The subtext of this entire interview is the crisis, the need to dispel its social and economic causes. However, history has it that the crisis will end. In your opinion, what is the rural area of the future?

[W.S.] It is always risky to speak of any sort of concept under present conditions. In Poland everyone is fighting against all concepts. This is sad, for without vision, without a view of long-term tasks and goals, it is impossible to undertake effective immediate solutions. Hence, the Polish

agricultural quadrille with its conservatist slogan that comes back like a boomerang. "The poor countryman and the mid-sized farm owner fight with the kulak" on the one hand, and the direct attempt to initiate 3-5 hectare farms on the other, whose proprietor needs nothing from the socialist state beyond salt and matches.

The crisis determines the conditions in which we work. I do not want anyone to think that I underestimate the depth, the pervasiveness and the scale of the crisis. However, our goal must be a vision of the rural area and farming, for we cannot afford to separate the two. This is a vision of farmers who can and want to advance within the compass of the village, to develop themselves and their farms; farmers who have a good education and accessibility to culture, both by visiting the city and due to their own cultural, traditional activity. We have a vision of a village of strong farms, large farms, on which it is profitable to have machinery and which are productive; a village that has running water, and beaten good roads. We envisage agriculture in which the state is concerned about the labor situation and social security following one's productive years and while one exercises his profession.

It is not difficult to conceptualize such a village. It does not materialize due to the low farm awareness of industrial society and the urban intelligentsia. It is enough to give several bad examples to evoke anti-peasant attitudes; even peasants themselves jump on the bandwagon. The industrial lobby executes such manipulations as a conscious, declared opponent of farreaching changes in agriculture. The cause is simple--the pie to be divided in the area of social benefits and means of production is only one. If there are storage batteries for farm machinery, the private automobile industry will not have them. There is only one choice--to give to one, one must take away from another. This is not a drawback of the idea; however, the low farm awareness in the city and the weak political, social and occupational representation of farmers and rural areas in the state structures mean that farm policy is not forceful enough.

The ZMW is trying on its own modest scale to shape the agricultural awareness of society. Rural areas need farm reforms--from procurement and supply organization, which is today monopolized and bureaucratized, through a reform of general supply of rural areas with water, to reforms of the social cultural movement. The ZMW is entering the village with the hope of reforming the educational movement, the LZS sports movement, schooling activity and rural youth tourism and recreation.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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ADDITIONAL TEACHER'S CHARTER EXECUTIVE REGULATIONS PUBLISHED

Regulation on Administrative Functions

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 26, 8 Aug 82 p 10

[Text] Following our announcement, we are publishing successive texts of directives from the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

Directive

of the Minister of Education and Upbringing from 22 June 1982 (No IS-0162-2/4/82) pertaining to the tasks of teachers entrusted with directing functions in schools.

In reference to Art 7, para 3 of the law of 26 January 1982, Teacher's Charter (DZIENNIK USTAW [Legal Gazette] 1982, No 3, item 19) the following is directed:

Article 1

The teachers who are entrusted with directing functions in schools, beside the responsibilities mentioned in Art 6, para 1, and Art 7, para 1 and 2 of the Law of 26 January 1982--Teacher's Charter (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1982, No 3 item 19)--perform other tasks enumerated in this directive related to the entrusted functions.

Article 2

1. The tasks of teachers mentioned in Article 1 in the area of organizational activity include:

1) determination, in consultation with the pedagogic council and the organ directly supervising the school, the organization of the work of the school according to the needs of students (wards) and the environment, and in conformance with the principles of intellectual work hygiene;

2) establishment of internal work rules and assignment of function for the principal, vice principal and other teachers performing administrative functions in the school;

- 3) determination of the assignment of functions for the non-teaching employees according to the regulations, norms and separate rules in force;
- 4) ascertaining the conditions for parental contact with teachers and establishing the hours for teachers performing administrative functions in the school;
- 5) shaping the appropriate work atmosphere and discipline in the school;
- 6) ascertaining the conditions for school cooperation with social and political organizations active in the school and the community and the institutions statutorily active on behalf of children and youth; informing them of school activities and inspiring them to partake in the implementation of the school's tasks;
- 7) submitting to the pedagogic council the proposals and decisions of these organizations and institutions that pertain to matters of school and students;
- 8) ascertaining the work conditions of the social organizations for students (wards) that are active in the school;
- 9) assuring proper hygienic-sanitary school conditions, safety conditions on the school grounds and during activities organized by the school outside of school grounds, for students (wards), teachers and non-teaching employees.

2. The tasks of teachers mentioned in Article 1 in the area of didactic, upbringing, and caretaking activities, include:

- 1) assuring the conditions for full implementation of teaching, upbringing, and caretaking programs and directing the efforts of teachers and students (wards) toward systematic improvement in the quality of work;
- 2) organizing didactic-upbringing and caretaking work; executing implementation of the assigned organizational-upbringing activities and other activities related to statutory school activity; submitting proposals related to the foregoing matters to the pedagogic council;
- 3) coordinating preventive work in the area of social maladjustment and re-socialization;
- 4) conducting work in the area of didactic-defensive planning, civil defense and military training;
- 5) organizing substitutions for teachers absent from work and assuring the continuity of implementation in teaching and upbringing programs;
- 6) undertaking--together with teachers, school health services employees, parent committees, institutions and organizations cooperating with the school--activities leading to the understanding of the physical and psychological characteristics of students (wards), their life conditions and needs, assuring their necessary material, health, and caretaking-upbringing assistance;

7) increasing, in justified cases, up to 10 percent--with the agreement of the organ supervising the school--the amount of hours for teaching subjects particularly difficult for students;

8) creating the proper climate for pedagogic progress, methodological and meritorious improvement of teachers and upbringing atmosphere in the school, assuring adherence to the principles of professional ethics for employees, particularly for the teachers;

9) performing internal pedagogic supervision of teachers through class visiting, supplying necessary instruction and assistance, partaking in the work of teams performing evaluations of teacher work, and participating in the work of self-education--methodological teams;

10) organizing and assuring conditions--with the assistance of the director of the school's shop (applied training, home economics, laboratory)--for the practical teaching of vocational and laboratory exercises;

11) organizing--with the assistance of the director of dormitories (boarding houses, activities centers)--the necessary caretaking-upbringing and socio-existential conditions.

3. The tasks of teachers mentioned in Article 1, in the area of administrative-managerial activity, include:

1) supervision or maintenance of the school office in the cases where the size of the school does not justify a full-time administrative position;

2) designing or participating in the designing of the draft of the material and financial plan and submitting it to the supervising organ for approval;

3) establishing, in consultation with the pedagogic council, plans for equipping the school in teaching aids, furniture and other equipment, for supplying students with textbooks, and supervising the implementation of these tasks;

4) planning and supervising expenditures within the allotted means and determining the pedagogic council, executing proper management of the funds for the school's parent committee;

5) organizing structural inspections of building conditions, maintenance-repair works (in cases where these matters are not assigned to economic-administrative teams) and appointing a commission for inventorying school resources;

6) supervising the activities of school management and approving its instructional-productive and financial plan.

4. The tasks of teachers mentioned in Article 1 in the area of cadres matters include:

- 1) submitting to the proper organs proposals in the matters of employment, dismissal, promotion, rewarding, appreciation, disciplining and decorating, with state and ministry medals, teachers and non-teaching employees;
- 2) settling personal matters of teachers employed on the basis of a work contract, within the limits conferred by the organ supervising the school;
- 3) settling personal matters of non-teaching employees within the exceptions provided in the particular provisions;
- 4) issuing, according to the regulations in force, certificates of work and evaluation for the professional work of school employees whose work contract has been entered by the school director.

#### Article 3

1. Teachers entrusted with administrative functions in schools, according to assigned division of tasks (activities), conduct supervision over didactic-upbringing, caretaking and administrative-managerial activities of the school, and are responsible for school property and proper delegation of responsibility for particular items of property to subordinate employees.
2. Substitution, guaranteeing proper functioning of the school should be organized for the duration of leave or excusable absence of teachers mentioned in Article 1, after advising the organ supervising the school.

#### Article 4

1. The teachers mentioned in Article 1 also perform other tasks delegated by the organ supervising the school, directly related to the implementation of the statutory school tasks.
2. The teachers in schools located in correctional institutions, mentioned in Article 1, cooperate with the directors of the institutions in the implementation of provisions regulating the serving of deprivation of liberty sentences, while performing the tasks resulting from this directive and from other regulations related to the activities of those schools.
3. The tasks of art school teachers entrusted with administrative functions are determined by separate provisions.

#### Article 5

The following are no longer in force:

- Directive of the Minister of Education and Upbringing from 23 July 1974, re the status of school directors (Dz Urz MOiW [OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing] No 8, item 62);
- Directive of the Minister of Education and Upbringing from 1 March 1976, re expansion of entitlements and obligations of directors of certain schools and other educational-upbringing facilities (Dz Urz MOiW, No 2, item 12).

## Article 6

The directive goes into effect on the day of publication.

### Regulation on Teacher-Librarians

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 27, 15 Aug 82 p 11

[Text] Following our announcement we are continuing publication of directives from the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

#### Directive

of the Minister of Education and Upbringing from 30 June 1982 (No EO-Z2-1013/3/G/82) re the rules of employment for school teacher-librarians. In reference to Article 7, para 2 of the Law of 26 January 1982--Teacher's Charter (Dz U No 3, item 19)--the following is directed:

#### Article 1

1. The following rules of employment for school teacher-librarians are hereby established:

- 1) in elementary schools (branches) enrolling up to 145 students--1 hour of weekly activities for each 10 students;
- 2) in elementary schools (branches) enrolling 146-300 students and in post-elementary schools of all types--except those mentioned in point 4 enrolling up to 300 students--1/2 of a full time position;
- 3) in elementary schools and post-elementary schools of all types (except those mentioned in point 4) enrolling 301 and more students--one full time position; this rule increases by 1/2 of a full time position for each additional 250 students;
- 4) in schools and special facilities and in caretaking-upbringing facilities (except kindergartens and special kindergartens) enrolling:
  - a)--up to 80 students (wards)--1/2 of a full time position;
  - b)--from 80 to 150 students (wards)--1 full time position;the rule established in point (b) increases by 1/2 of a full time position for each additional 150 students (wards).
- 5) in institutions for the vocational rehabilitation of invalids, the rules of employment for teacher-librarians are established according to the principles described in points 1-3;
- 6) in libraries maintained in out-of-school facilities for youth upbringing (youth palaces, youth homes for culture) numbering:



- a) from 150 to 300 library users--1/2 of a full time position;
- b) above 300 library users--1 full time position;

the rule established in point (b) increases by 1/2 of a full time position for each additional 250 users;

2. In school consortiums (groups of schools) that include schools for the working and in post-elementary schools for non-working youth with departments for the working, the standard resulting from the provisions of Article 1 may be increased by 1/4 of a full time position, depending on the needs ascribable to the organization of work.

3. The organ conducting school supervision may permit an increase in the standard of employment of school teacher-librarians described in para 1 and 2 by:

✓ --1/2 of a full time position in schools where the school library has a collection of 10,000 to 30,000 volumes and maintains reading rooms in separately assigned areas;

--1 full time position in schools where libraries have a collection of over 30,000 volumes and maintain reading rooms in separately assigned areas.

## Article 2

1. The basis for establishing an employment standard for school librarians is:

--in school consortiums--total number of students in all schools that comprise a consortium;

--in schools for non-working youth with departments for the working--combined number of students in the school for non-working youth and its department for the working;

--in special institutions, special educational-upbringing centers, institutions for vocational rehabilitation of invalids and educational-upbringing centers--total number of students involved in the activities of these facilities.

2. Number of students means the planned number of students at the beginning of the school year and teachers employed in the school.

## Article 3

When it is not possible to hire a teacher-librarian in the schools enumerated in Article 1, point 1, the activities connected with running a library may be assigned to a didactics teacher of a given school and remunerated according to the rules applicable to overtime work. The basis for computing the pay for overtime work shall be the amount of work that would be performed by a teacher-librarian.

#### Article 4

A post of teacher-librarian may be filled by persons possessing the qualifications described in Article 9 or 94 of the Law--Teacher's Charter.

#### Article 5

The work unit of library activities for teacher-librarians is 60 minutes.

#### Article 6

No overtime working hours in a library may be assigned to teacher-librarians.

#### Article 7

The following are abolished:

1) instruction from 13 March 1957, pertaining to librarians in school and pedagogic libraries (Dz U.M.O. [OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Ministry of Education] No 3, item 35; Dz U.M.O.i Szk W [OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Ministry of Education and Higher Schools] No B-9, item 75, from 1968);

2) Article 120; point 1 and Article 122 of the directive from the Minister of Education and Upbringing dated 2 July 1973 re executory provisions pertaining to rights, duties and remuneration of teachers (Dz U. MOiW [OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing] No 12, item 100, as amended).

#### Article 8

The directive goes into effect on the day of publication and shall be binding from 1 September 1982.

9952

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CROATIA'S BILIC INTERVIEWED ON DEBTS, OTHER TOPICS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1658, 10 Oct 82  
pp 9-13

[Interview with Jure Bilic, chairman of the Croatian LC Central Committee, by Stevan Niksic: "What Is Croatia Really Asking For"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Why is it that you, a party official, the chairman of the Croatian LC [League of Communists] Central Committee, have recently been so involved with foreign exchange and debts? Why is it that the League of Communists has in general been concerned in this way with that set of problems? Does this mean that organizations of associated labor and the agencies competent in that area under the constitution have themselves been unable to solve the problems that exist?

[Answer] There are several reasons for that. I was intensely involved with this as president of the Croatian Assembly; this is a kind of personal continuity for me. I am not involved with this in the sense of everyday decision-making. That is done by the Executive Council, by the banks, by the economic associations.... But the problem of our foreign debt is now such that it enters into all the pores of the country's public life. And it was stated in a recent meeting of the LCY Central Committee that party forums are required to keep abreast of the situation and to intervene publicly in order to discharge debts abroad and carry out what is referred to as the unwritten law.

As is well known, we now have a foreign debt of somewhere around \$17 billion, slightly over \$3 billion of which is owed by Croatia; yet special problems exist for this republic because of the \$760 million of short-term credits.

About 80 percent of Croatia's foreign debt originated with the INA [Zagreb Petroleum Industry] complex and the electric power industry. Why is that so? Development and many large and ambitious projects were planned on the basis of a petroleum situation in the world altogether different from what we have today. It was not a mistake to have planned it, but the mistake was to do all this at once. There was a desire to have everything right away. The thought was that the foreign credits for all those projects could be repaid from the system of our foreign exchange market. That was a compromise plan, a plan based on wishes. It was drawn up by the leadership structures in the business

community and in public life, and it did not arise out of integration and establishment of ties among interested parties. For example, had DINA [INA's project on Krk], which was supposed to produce 1 million tons of petrochemical products, been devised in that way, then in addition to the foreign partner, Yugoslavia's economy and manufacturing industry would also have put up capital for that undertaking. Then it would have been realistic. But INA planned that on its own, believing that someone on the Yugoslav imaginary market, even if the foreign exchange market had existed, but, as you know, it did not exist, would be in a position to cover that.

The notorious alumina plant in Obrovac was built apart from the aluminum industry in Sibenik. Had that been given to the aluminum industry, perhaps it would have been different. There is also a question, of course, of whether it should have been built at Obrovac or at some other location?... In addition, all these facilities were based on petroleum as an energy fuel, and petroleum has become several times more expensive. As you see, then, everything became involved with everything else. The Petrochemical Combine in Kutina was also built without partners, and only now at the very end, when it is 95 percent ready, the agricultural sectors of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia are becoming involved. They have put up their own share in order to be able to secure chemical fertilizers from the facility.

That is why we, meaning the League of Communists, must be concerned with those balances. We must see which factors have brought about this kind of planning so that we can avoid anything like that happening to us in the future. Finally, the foreign exchange balance has an effect on the supply of petroleum, production materials, and it has an effect on general consumption. The question of whether industry will be working or not, of whether the workers will be without work, of whether losses will pile up--all of that has social and political implications for the working people and the population. That is why I am so involved with it.

#### We Must Speak the Truth

[Question] In party forums at the federal level there does not appear to be altogether unanimous assessments concerning this problem area. This is especially evident concerning rescheduling of the foreign debt. Some people seem to feel that all debts should be repaid at any price, while others propose what amounts to taking new credits and to pay off the old debts with that money. What solution do you favor?

[Answer] I think that this year and perhaps next year as well it will be difficult for Yugoslavia to pay back all the foreign debts which have come due unless the decision is made to reschedule. But we have decided to repay everything. The question now is how to do it? Because of our independent policy and position in the world, we have to conduct an economic and foreign policy whereby no one can blackmail us, no one can impose conditions on us. If as a state we request rescheduling, perhaps political conditions could be imposed on us. That is why we think that the state should not undertake rescheduling. Were there countries, and perhaps there are, which would not exert pressure on us, which would not blunt our foreign policy, then we could do

that. We would be willing, at least I think so, to talk with each country separately. This is a delicate matter, since it concerns our freedom and independence.

I think it was a mistake that we did not adopt the view earlier that the banks and the business community could reschedule their debt, since that is a normal thing in the world. Today the important thing on the financial market is to pay interest, which at present we are doing, and the principal is paid according to the partner's abilities. But we have politicized this and made it an international problem, which was a mistake.

If we wish to remain completely independent, so that no one can impose conditions on us, then there is something else we must undertake. We must clearly say to our population: If we are to preserve our freedom and independence, if we are to repel possible pressures, and since over the last 7, 8 or 10 years we have been developing faster than we were able, we are now compelled to retreat. But we are not to retreat in panic, but in an orderly way. We are aware that we must complete what is near completion, we must go without many things, a complete moratorium must be placed for a time on investment in the infrastructure.... And to tell people clearly that there will not be enough of certain articles which require foreign exchange. Which means that we must undertake sacrifices.

#### Where We Went Wrong

[Question] At the last meeting of the LCY Central Committee you said that Croatia is seeking understanding for its economic position at this moment. What kind of understanding? What is Croatia really asking for?

[Answer] I also presented figures on the size of the foreign debt of each republic and province relative to its respective inflow of foreign exchange. Except for Slovenia, which at present is in a somewhat better position, all the other republics and provinces are in a similar situation, and accordingly Yugoslavia as well; except that Croatia is in a more difficult situation because of short-term credits which it has taken for petroleum on the behalf of others. It also took credit so that it might repay debts when the foreign exchange market disappeared. And credits denominated in foreign currencies so that they could be turned into dinar credits.

Where we went wrong is obviously that we took credits for conversion to dinars. We are to blame for that, but we are not to blame for the petroleum. We took short-term credits for petroleum at high interest rates at levels of 20 and even 25 percent, and we have had to repay that ourselves. But those who use the petroleum did not share in that, or at least not sufficiently. And second, we lost more than 12 billion on the petroleum, and we were given no credit for that, and now everything is falling as a burden on the Croatian economy, and consequently even the Privredna Banka [Business Bank], which has fallen into difficulty. And whereas the Croatian economy had a foreign exchange surplus for 30 years, it joined the other republics in assuming liability for others in Yugoslavia. So, we are seeking understanding of our difficulties which have occurred through no fault of our own.

There is no idyll with respect to foreign exchange in Yugoslavia, and Croatia is not alone in disturbing some kind of idyll.

[Question] What would happen if others should act like Croatia and seek understanding? Every republic and province certainly has some grounds of its own, its own troubles which it might refer to in making its case.

[Answer] Certainly. When I speak about understanding for Croatia's position, I am not thinking that this should be done at anyone's expense. I think that we must seek solutions together. We are not seeking any sort of privileges. Of the \$560 million which the National Bank of Yugoslavia gave to the republics and provinces, it gave 274 for Croatia; all the other banks gave 24. But it is not a question here only of foreign exchange, but of instruments which should be adopted, it is a question of this republic having fallen into dinar difficulties as well, and when the other accounts are examined, it is evident that Yugoslavia has also fallen into difficulties of that kind. Consequently, we must jointly seek solutions and not let everyone get through the best he can on his own. When I say this, I am trying to avoid as much as possible being exclusively concerned with Croatian problems. I think that Croatia can extricate itself if Yugoslavia extricates itself and that Yugoslavia can extricate itself if Croatia extricates itself. Assuming that Croatia pays its share.

Is Croatia Hiding Its Foreign Exchange?

[Question] It is thought in some quarters that the foreign exchange situation in Croatia is after all not so black as you say. It is said, for example, that Croatian organizations are holding their foreign exchange abroad to purchase new equipment, while on the other hand Croatia is seeking "understanding" for its situation. How much truth is there in that?

[Answer] Since at this point one republic is a bit better off, it seems that people there think that now both we and Yugoslavia can extricate ourselves without these measures. This is probably a result of being uninformed and perhaps also of suspicions. I know that some people think that Croatia has foreign exchange, and that it is refusing to pay debts abroad and its own foreign exchange obligations in Yugoslavia, that in that way it desires to make its debts the joint concern of all Yugoslavia. There are suspicions that our economy and our banks are holding foreign exchange outside, but I say that this is not so. There are outside only the deposits of certain construction enterprises when they have taken credits on that basis and guaranteed in that way that construction work can be paid for. As far as I know, there are no other resources outside. Perhaps here and there some speculation, but they do not exist on any broad scale. Second, it has been asserted and suspected that even this year we have taken equipment even though we were not fulfilling our obligations, which again is not so. This year we have imported virtually no equipment except on the basis of obligations come due from previous years where we had to pay for imported equipment. This amounted to about \$60 million. Consequently, I am stating the facts about all that great amount of money which people suspect Croatia has and is concealing.

[Question] Who are all the people who brought about the present position of Privredna Banka and how did they do that? Who are all those who must draw lessons from that?

[Answer] The situation of our banking system, as you know, has not been resolved. This was an alienated power center, together with certain leadership structures whether in the economy or in sociopolitical communities. The bank was detached from the economy and from planning. All these factors had an influence on the fate of Privredna Banka. The debts of INA and the electric power industry amount to 83 percent of that bank's total debt. That is what it is about.

Who Is To Blame for the Financial Collapse?

We have now taken the view that the problems of that bank should be solved by the Croatian economy as a whole. Since at present we cannot achieve that same thing in Yugoslavia, the Croatian economy and all the banks in Croatia are now giving a portion of foreign exchange resources to Privredna Banka so that it can repay debts. That is, we want to pass on, if you like, the obligations and liability to all those who benefited from what that bank was financing. If the planning was bad, then it is logical that the one who had or was supposed to derive a benefit from that should now also bear the burden. We think that a part of that burden, when it comes to projects which that bank financed and which are necessary for the Yugoslav economy, should be lightened through a joint effort by all those who had an interest in those projects. A good example of this is what is now being done at Kutina, where the economies of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia have put up their share for the Petrochemical Combine. As you see, it is only misfortune that has forced us into pooling. This is the good part of this, it is good that many people have finally come to their senses.

[Question] Will Privredna Banka manage to survive?

[Answer] We can liquidate the bank, but we will not thereby liquidate the debts.

[Question] And accountability? You speak about who must now bear the burden, but it would be interesting to hear whether someone, someone who has a first and last name, will ultimately be accountable for this financial collapse?

[Answer] I think that the plans of the republics and provinces and Yugoslavia's plan are the principal "culprits." Everything else is of minor importance.

Accountability of Politicians for Unwise Investment Projects

In any case there was not any sort of specific surprise here. We were alerted back at the end of last year, we sought solutions, but this could not be avoided. Then people who did not understand did not believe that we are in this kind of situation.

[Question] What about those who "rooted" and "prompted" on the sideline in favor of building projects which today are giving no one anything but trouble? Will any of them be made accountable?

[Answer] It is not possible to make blanket statements about accountability, this has to be seen after a concrete analysis. Take, for example, the case of Obrovac. I do not know everything that led up to that, though some people even associate me personally with that Obrovac situation. But I know that the alumina plant was necessary. There were many expert analyses from abroad, and they all said that the quality of the raw materials and technology envisaged for that were altogether correct from the technical standpoint. The error, it seems to me, was only in giving in to pressures to build the project there on the grounds that it would be of benefit to that underdeveloped region. It can easily be determined when a particular decision was made. But decisions are not made abstractly, out of relations to reality. The specialists were those who furnished the proposals. Politics put its blessing on it. Perhaps it provided the initiative, but politics itself could not have been decisive. Because of our situation, because of the fact that associated labor is not playing the role which it ought, such things have been happening throughout the entire country. Take, for example, the case of the Nasica cement industry. No one could have said that that project was not justified. But the capacity was wrongly chosen, it was smaller than was economically justified, and they also say there was a mistake in choice of the technology, since it came from a "clearing" country.

The Thought Was "We Will Get By"

At the time when the decision was made on "building" DINA there was much talk about that, I myself even participated in those conversations. There were various warnings because of a contract concerning a joint venture with the Americans. There was even a constitutional dispute over that contract. At the time I was still in Belgrade, and I remember when Milutin Baltic and Leo Gerskovic warned about that contract, and it even went all the way to Kardelj. And that was cleared up. Then the question was put of whether we could manage that project? The business people said that it was realistic and that it would entirely relieve us of imports. Even now I can tell you that that is a project we need, but when the decision was being made on its construction not enough consideration was given to our entire situation and circumstances. Things were taking their own course, and in a situation that was a bit euphoric the thinking was "we will get by."

[Question] You recently expressed suspicion that someone was manipulating foreign exchange balances in Yugoslavia. Would you like to clarify that?

[Answer] Some 10 years back there was the Law on Compulsory Registration of all investment projects at the federal level, and that law was repealed. Then there was a discussion about bringing it back. The republics and provinces were developing each on its own, and for that reason they did not want to render accounts, since it was thought that this might slow down the development of each of them. The situation was the same, I am told by specialists, in the National Bank of Yugoslavia, where the payments balance was kept, but not the



exchange balance. For almost a year we called for the difference between the payments balance and the exchange balance to be cleared up, and they now say that that will soon be done. But those balances are still being concealed, and perhaps we will do not know our real balance.

[Question] You mean to say, then, that it is in someone's interest to conceal data?

[Answer] I think that all the data basically exist. It is just a question of the desire to make them public. I do not think that ordinary incompetence could be involved here, since those are specialists who would have to know the figures. I think that this is a question of a certain policy.

[Question] At the last meeting of the LCY Central Committee you said that "the situation in development of the Yugoslav economy has been altogether spontaneous, especially over the last 7 years." That period coincides almost exactly with the period that the new constitution and the Law on Associated Labor have been in effect. Is this a mere coincidence?

[Answer] We have abandoned unitarianism in the economy. I think that it is good that we have done so. We wanted to break up federal statism, and we have done so. It still exists as a necessary evil today on the basis of instruments. However, at this point republic statism has overcome self-management. Now that statism of the republics and provinces have to be broken up. We cannot accuse the Law on Associated Labor and self-management of being to blame for the situation in which we have found ourselves, since it could not have acted, nor did it act. The Law on Associated Labor was swimming on dry land as it were. If you want someone to learn to swim, you have to put him in the water.

What Ribicic Was Thinking of

[Question] Comrade Ribicic says that even in the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, of which you are also a member, there has accumulated a great deal that is "uncommunist" and "unprincipled." You will acknowledge that these are very grave judgments. Could you explain this in a bit more detail?

[Answer] It would be better for you to ask Comrade Ribicic.

[Question] But you are also among the accused, since you do sit in that forum.

[Answer] I do not know whether he was thinking of the previous or the present membership of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

You see, it is always possible for a man to be unprincipled or for him to be told that he is behaving in an uncommunist fashion at certain moments. Especially if people are burdened with no other interest than that of their own republic or province, an interest which sometimes may be justified, or it may not be justified. When there is no tolerance, no understanding, this is always possible. This applies to all people, not just to leaders.

As for the atmosphere in the present Presidium of the LCY Central Committee I can say that I am satisfied with that atmosphere, I am satisfied with the openness and with the desire to carry on a debate consistent with principle and communist behavior. I do not say that only because I am making a public statement. Perhaps at times there have been excursions in this regard, but there was an immediate reaction, objections were openly stated, and a critical dialogue was conducted. It seems to me that since the 12th congress, and especially since the first meeting of the LCY Central Committee, a great lesson has been drawn and that people are in a way more sober, more serious, if I can so put it.

[Question] Is it realistic to expect that those same political teams, those same people, who beyond doubt bear at least a part of the responsibility for the failure of our economic policy up to now, can find a way out of this situation?

[Answer] Remember this: There was a general pressure to achieve as much as possible. Everyone wanted new schools, highways, hospitals, new jobs.... But the leadership did not always have sufficient strength, although there were warnings, and all of this came down to a realistic measure. In the end there were historic meetings of the Central Committee, there were letters, beginning with Tito's first speech in Split and thereafter. But the spontaneity was stronger than the resistance of the subjective forces to it. Those are the facts. Can that same set of leaders, as you say, now accomplish the change of course? That is relative. If you start with the opstina committees of the League of Communists and go all the way to the central committees, you will see that everywhere 80 to 90 percent are new people; in the higher leadership bodies about two-thirds are new people. These are all relatively young people. The "Partizan generation" is still on the stage, but it cannot be decisive, just as it was not decisive even in the previous Central Committee, nor was it numerically the strongest, though perhaps it held the key positions. I favor that Chinese saying: three in one. Which means: the young, the middle and the old generations. I do not know whether anything would have been different if certain other people had held those positions.

It takes a great deal of strength for any man to judge when he should withdraw. And since often a man cannot judge this for himself, it is best for collectivities and the public to evaluate each one individually. It would be dangerous if we were to say that all those who up to now have carried out the revolution can no longer guide it. That would mean that we have betrayed the basic achievements of the revolution, as it was once said. For all the shortcomings, I think that that generation not only has not betrayed the achievements of the revolution, but has indeed developed them, accomplishing thereby a formidable development in spite of all the shortcomings and possible errors. There are some things that could not have been avoided. Nor do I say that more might not have been done.

#### Interventions From the Federation Are Possible

[Question] France Popit has expressed the opinion that the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee ought to intervene directly in the individual republics and provinces. How do you look on that idea?

[Answer] Popit himself has said that he was thinking of what Comrade Tito occasionally did. Since we have decided on collective leadership, I think that the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, or still better the LCY Central Committee, should do this. But this does not mean that I think that there is now a need to intervene somewhere. However, I do think it is good for us to be clear that this can, should and must be done should it be necessary.

When things happen somewhere like the events that occurred in 1971 in Croatia or in other places in certain other years, then the Central Committee has the right and duty to do that. But here again one must be realistic. Everything must always be done to first ascertain the need for such an intervention. You see, in 1971 we called upon Comrade Bakaric to inform Comrade Tito about the situation in Croatia. But we also asked that Tito not intervene as yet. Then he did after all come to a meeting of the leadership of Croatia in early August and say what he thought. The public is aware of that. But he still did not intervene at that time. He intervened only when there was the strike of university students and when the former leadership, or a part of it, had let events get out of hand, and a crisis came about. Consequently, the moment for intervening should always be evaluated. Conditions have to be created for intervention to be possible, for people in certain quarters to realize that this is indispensable, so that there is a minimum of resistance. That takes patience. This is a very sensitive matter, especially because we are a multinational community.

[Question] Do the party forums at the federal level today have sufficient opportunities to obtain an insight into everything taking place in the republics and provinces? Stane Dolanc, for example, said a few days ago that as a member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee he was not aware in good time of all the facts concerning the situation in Kosovo.

[Answer] I think that the conditions have now been created for the leadership of the LCY Central Committee and Presidium of the LCY Central Committee to be informed about everything happening in any federal unit. I emphasize, that conditions have been created. Whether people actually have the knowledge, of that I am not certain.

You see, in 1971 people gradually learned about what was happening in Croatia. There were special reports from the State Security Service which were received by five or six of the leaders in Croatia, but those reports were not sent to the Federation, nor even to Tito. Kosovo came later. Perhaps we did not know everything that was happening there, at least when I was in the party Presidium I was not aware of many details, nor was the Presidium. But we did know the main things, the tendencies. There were two prior interventions. One when Tito was in Kosovo, he spoke out. And the second, when that issue was raised in the Presidium. At that time Kardelj took it upon himself to talk with the Kosovo leadership. I was in favor of that being debated in the Presidium at the time. Because our practical relations within the LCY were not yet worked out, though it had been properly worked out in the bylaws and in theory, because of the sensitivity of all that, the opportunistic approach was taken. All of that ought to have been a sufficient lesson for us. Judging by the present atmosphere, it seems to me that the condition has been created to prevent recurrence of anything like that in such a drastic form.

[Question] Is it true that certain directors of INA have recently been arrested?

[Answer] Yes, it is true. And, as far as I know, they were arrested because they had been purchasing some pipe for Naftaplin, which is a subsidiary of INA, and because they paid a higher price than they should have paid. The inquiry is under way, but the first explanations offered by a commission of INA state that the pipe was more expensive because it was purchased on credit and was not paid for in cash. Much the same was the case with purchasing certain quantities of petroleum. Since the petroleum could not be paid for in cash, it was purchased on credit, and therefore more supposedly had to be paid than what the price of petroleum was on the world market at the time. When the inquiry is complete, we will see what the truth is.

[Question] Recently the Croatian Republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs presented a report in the Croatian Assembly related to yet another INA director, S. Djurekovic, who fled abroad under mysterious circumstances where, it is said, he joined the extremist anti-Yugoslav emigre community. This is another case that leaves many questions. Can you tell us something more about this?

[Answer] He was, they say, an "inactive agent" of some foreign intelligence service. Although it has been reported that certain previous crimes of one kind or another have been detected, I think that this was nevertheless a case of political rather than economic crimes, though obviously there was also some of the latter. He supposedly was preparing documentation and material so that he could write some book. In every system, you know, it is possible for someone like that to conceal himself. Unfortunately, it was discovered at a late date. But I would not draw conclusions from this at present, as is being done by certain newspapers which are asking: How was personnel policy conducted in Croatia? That is not personnel policy. That is a case, a mistake. We are continuing, as in the past, to take steps so that positions of leadership are taken by loyal and able people, but that is not always easy to achieve.

[Question] Publication of a book by E. Cencic has been announced, some sort of memoirs of Josip Kopinic. It is said that there have been various objections to that book, above all in Zagreb, and that its publication is therefore in question. What sort of criticism was this?

[Answer] That book was to be published by an enterprise in Rijeka. According to what I have heard unofficially, a review was requested and was later rejected. The author then took it to the publishing house "Rad" in Belgrade. We did indeed alert the Central Committee of the Serbian LC and the Belgrade City Committee that certain comrades who have read the book have objections because it could have implications for present political relations in Yugoslavia or could create an atmosphere which would not from a political standpoint be suitable for the present moment in Yugoslavia and indeed in Croatia. The writer and publisher have supposedly said that they would take into account the opinions of those who reviewed the book before publication. At this point I do not know what else has happened and whether there are still obstacles of some sort. As far as we are concerned, if it has been properly reviewed, I think that there are no obstacles at all to its being published.

I have read the book. I do not want at this point to take the position of a reviewer, but I think that there are some questions in it which are not fully elucidated so as to create the right picture. I think, however, that the final judgment about this has to be made by historians and other scholars.

What Is Debatable in the Book About Kopinic?

[Question] What is unclear and imprecise in the book?

[Answer] There are several points which need to be clarified in it. The first question is 1941: Did the Croatian Central Committee want to go into action after Hitler's attack on the USSR or not? It is a question of various circumstances, and this is explained as though there were resistance, opportunism. I allow that there could be something in all this. But only 18 days had passed from the attack on the USSR when the Croatian Central Committee did undertake action. The liberation war and revolution in Croatia showed that that central committee, for all its possible shortcomings, was in the continuity of the revolution. It led the Croatian and Serbian masses into the revolution. And the Communist Party of Croatia also carried out its historical task in that regard, for all the possible errors and faults which there might have been. Consequently, when certain events are represented without taking into account the continuity of the revolution, I think that this can be interpreted only as the result of bias.

The second point which remains unclear has to do with A. Hebrang and events related to him. Aside from certain obvious passages which are unclear in the book, there are also suspicions, which altogether I think is not a good thing. Then there are also quite a few cases when self-criticism has broken down, suspicions concerning individuals. I think that such matters should be spoken about more clearly. One gets the impression that the author wanted through this book to rehabilitate the man he is writing about. It seems to me that his deeds are such that he does not need any sort of rehabilitation. And as to his place in the history of our revolution, leave that to history. I would not want to have a part in that.

7045

CSO: 2800/29

PROFESSOR NOTES MISTAKEN YOUTH POLICY, QUESTIONS PENALTIES IN KOSOVO

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 82 p 7

[Excerpts] At a recent scientific meeting devoted to the social position and role of the young generation in our country Srdjan Vrcan, professor of the Law Faculty in Split, said that studies of the phenomena and problems relating to the younger generation have been imbued for many years with a markedly optimistic sentiment; this historical optimism has not withstood the test of reality. These assertions called forth a heated reaction by participants at the meeting and resulted in the fact that this eminent scholar was besieged by newspapermen.

Why have scholars lagged behind events, not managing to foresee the stormy events such as occurred in June 1968 and the negative trends of the 1970's, as well as the latest Kosovo occurrences? Professor Vrcan says: excessive optimism [one of the main reasons] is the result of the belief that socialist commitment of youth in our country is definitely assured even in advance, once and forever guaranteed in a way which cannot be questioned. Possible political apathy among youth was reduced [in the past] to only individual cases. Why would young people create problems when they are the greatest beneficiaries of all the achievements of socialist development of our society--many asserted this for two whole decades, until the 1970's when this excessive optimism came into question.

In the last few years scholars have started to talk about the special inferior position of youth, about young people who do not enjoy only benefits in our society.

The significance of some negative phenomena which characterize young people and their position today must not be underestimated. They [these phenomena] can have exceptional significance, immediately or over the long term. Hence, we must think about what one can expect tomorrow based on what is happening today with young people. Fortunately, there are a large number of positive elements among young people; the present younger generation is far above that which was characteristic for the last generation of youth. They are more informed, and they have more possibilities for organizing their own free time, selecting various ways of solving their life problems. But the problems of the modern generation cannot be evaluated by proceeding only from the advantages which this generation has compared to the previous ones, but one should proceed also from

disparity between their [today's youth's] aspirations and the possibilities which exist for satisfying them.

...The problems facing the modern generation open up the possibility that tomorrow political apathy and indifference will expand and that the tendencies toward private-ization will be increased. This is not something characteristic [only] for us, it is seen in European dimensions and is evident in the crisis of a large number of [European] political organizations....

In other words some of the younger generation have taken politics out of their lives and placed it on the periphery of social life. This is not a new phenomenon. At the end of 1968 I made a study at Split University. I was surprised at the high percentage of youth who said they thought that the meaning of life should be sought in one's profession, family and close friends, and not in political life.

[In answering the question, "Were not the young people who were the protagonists of the Kosovo events too harshly penalized, considering their age?"] In Slovenia a public discussion was held about this in organized social bodies and outstanding people in politics and legal theory participated. This discussion quite clearly brought out a skeptical view regarding the social result of a specific repressive policy. I hold the opinion that these problems are too serious and important to be given over to narrow forums to decide or for decisions made by such forums placed on a level on which they must not be discussed. I believe that in a self-management society the application of penal policy is not a matter only for the courts, public prosecutor, and prosecuting organs, but can and should be a matter for the general public.

[Question] Who should give the "green light"?

To "give a green light" means there is some authorized director of traffic who has the right to turn on red or green lights, to decide on the permissible or tolerable dose of "light" for the general public, also when this is a question of the penal policy, or relates to youth, or to that which is called verbal crime. I would not accept this concept of waiting for someone to turn the light off or on, at the same time excluding automatically everyone else in the general public. The question is what is being prosecuted and how. Penal policy cannot cram different things into the same hat. It should differentiate in regard to who is doing what. It is not the same if one is dealing with a 16-year-old or a person who is already mature and is aware of the results of what he is doing. A repressive policy in the broad sense has the effect of intimidating others but in relation to the person on whom the penalty is applied, it often has the reverse effect--it produces radicalization.

One should never forget the first aim of policy: to win over young people for our self-management socialism, to broaden the circle of loyal citizens who will identify their goals with the goals of self-management. This aim cannot be attained by applying a policy of repression and penal measures.

'WRONG' CANDIDATES ELECTED IN OSIJEK

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 2 Oct 82 SEDAM DANA supplement pp 8-9

[Article by Zeljko Hodonj: "Who Is Electing the 'Wrong' Candidates?"]

[Text] The first example is as follows. Upon the occasion of the election of a director for the Biotechnical Scientific Education Center work organization, only one candidate applied for the competition, a doctor of science and a prominent sociopolitical worker. This candidate obtained a "favorable opinion" from all of the basic organizations of the LC and the trade unions (with the exception of the trade union in the Sugar Beet Institute), and the scientific education council. Prior to this, consultations were carried out, as it has already become customary to say in our jargon, with the Presidency of the OK [regional committee] of the Croatian LC in Osijek, the Croatia LC Conference of the Community of Municipalities in Osijek, and the rectorate of the Osijek University, and favorable opinions were also given by the coordinating committees for the conduct of personnel policy in the municipality and the community of municipalities. Nevertheless, after all, [even] when it was clear that the candidate had a majority in the collective, this candidate did not receive the necessary number of votes during the voting in the administrative organ of the Center's council.

The above and the examples to follow are quoted in an abbreviated form from the opening speech by Antun Ignac, the executive secretary of the Presidency of the Croatian LC OK for the Osijek municipality, at the last meeting of the Croatia LC OK.

The question arises of who voted against the candidate, and on behalf of whom. According to a directive from the Presidency of the Croatian LC OK, the communists at the Biotechnical Scientific Education Center are to answer this question and discuss it at a meeting of the action conference. They will have to determine the concrete responsibility of the LC members and the managing organs, and the three OOSK's [LC basic organizations] in the BTZNC [Biotechnical Scientific Education Center] will have to analyze the behavior of their members in the Center's council during the election of the director. Finally, they will all have to answer the question of whether they are bound by the position of their LC basic organizations, or whether they in fact have a double standard.



Here is a second example. In the Ribarstvo [Fishing] work organization, where there are no LC basic organizations, upon the occasion of the election of a director a request was sent to the coordinating committee of the OK of the SSRNH [Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Croatia] for the conduct of personnel policy that it "assess" two candidates. The above-mentioned committee felt that both of the candidates had all of the qualifications for performing management duties. It was recommended, however, that the organization elect the candidate who had already worked in the same field of business, and not the candidate who had just begun to work at the Osijek IPK [Industrial-Agricultural Combine]. The reaction to this was more than rapid. On that very day the competition commission met (after the session of the coordinating committee), along with the workers' council, and the one elected was precisely the very candidate regarding whom the coordinating committee had recommended that he remain at his old post, that is, at the Osijek IPK. Instead of commenting, we will quote the position expressed by Antun Ignac at a meeting of the Croatian LC OK: "It should be emphasized that there were 'mediators' from among the members of the coordinating committee, and there was also influence exerted by the former director of the work organization."

The third example is as follows: at the Construction Institute, in the OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] for materials testing, on the occasion of the election of a director, the LC basic organization gave a negative assessment of the moral and political suitability of a candidate for this post. Afterwards an opinion was requested from the coordinating committee of the OK of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia, from which the candidate again did not receive a favorable assessment. After this, however, the self-managing organs of the basic organization of associated labor elected this very candidate as the director. The coordinating committee then charged the social self-management legal officer with bringing suit before the Court of Associated Labor. In the opinion of the Croatian LC's OK, instead of acting quickly, the Court of Associated Labor has reached a decision very slowly, only after several months. Behind all of this was the fact that the first referendum on associating the organization of associated labor with the Higher Technical Construction School in Osijek had failed. The LC basic organization of the organization of associated labor, among its other conclusions after the discussion, stated that it was precisely the candidate for director, then and now the director, who was responsible for the failure of the referendum. The Court of Associated Labor is making a decision which is essentially opposed to the decision by the coordinating committee of the OK of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia, but only after the referendum was repeated and passed by an enormous majority. In the meantime very positive results are being achieved in that area, and it has been proven that heavily organized sociopolitical action can overcome all omissions and not quite socially acceptable interests.

What links all three of the above-mentioned examples is the demand for a clear answer to the question of who had the right, and on whose behalf, not to abide by the sociopolitical conclusions that had been agreed upon in the implementation of personnel policy. Furthermore, one cannot easily overlook the fact that in all three cases people virtually insisted on overturning the role and significance of the coordinating committee of the OK of the Socialist

Alliance of Working People of Croatia, and in two cases, the positions of party organizations as well. It seems as though someone wanted, at any cost, to reduce the implementation of personnel policy to pulling personnel strings.

As Antun Ignac warns, "It is for this very reason, finally, that we should openly state that neither the OK of the Croatian LC nor its Presidency wishes to interfere or has any intention of interfering in the work of self-management organs. When the acts of LC members in individual areas reflect the manipulation of working people, however, and when LC members do not carry out the decisions of their LC basic organizations, then energetic action is needed from the LC, or rather from the LC basic organizations in these areas. We have mentioned these examples in order to keep such acts from occurring any more, since the Osijek party organization will not tolerate attempts that can in fact be reduced to attempts to bypass LC positions.

9909

CSO: 2800/12

JURIST PASIC OFFERS CHANGES IN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Sep 82 p 9

[Article by S. Djukic: "What Should Be Changed in the Political System"]

[Text] Professor Najdan Pasic sent a letter to the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee, in which he explains the need to form a commission to study the unresolved problems in the operation of the political system.

Before us is a text by Professor Najdan Pasic, in which this scientific worker, the president of the Constitutional Court of Serbia and a member of the LCY Central Committee, attempts to answer the following question: why a competent and authoritative commission should be formed to study current problems in the operation of the political system.

As we have previously reported, almost all of the speeches at the 12th LCY Congress requested that more efficiency and effectiveness be introduced into political relations, and thus indirectly raised the question of the operation of the political system. It was in this spirit that Najdan Pasic proposed that a body like the Stabilization Commission be formed, which could be called a "commission to study the unresolved problems in the operation of the political system."

In the meantime, Pasic has explained this idea in more detail in a letter to the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee; this idea especially deserves attention because there is an increasingly prevalent attitude, which was also expressed at the last meeting of the highest Yugoslav party forum, that a bolder investigation should be made of certain concepts in the political system.

No Need to Change the Constitutional Solutions

What does Professor Pasic suggest? His starting point is that a discussion of this type should not contain proposals for changing the existing constitutional solutions. In his opinion, at least for now this would not only be unnecessary, but also harmful; it would introduce new elements of instability and distract our attention from the measures and actions that should be initiated without delay.

Mentioning that there are several phenomena in the daily operation of the political system that should be subjected to bold critical re-examination and to change, Pasic first of all makes two introductory remarks in explaining his position:

First, it is obvious that there is a decline in the ability of the organized forces of socialist awareness, and even of the LC itself, to guide societal trends successfully and determine the direction and content of further revolutionary change in production relationships and overall social relationships. In important areas of social life, things are going in a direction that is diametrically opposed to the one set by the program documents, plans, and decisions.

Secondly, Pasic continues, it would be fatal if the LC closed its eyes and remained more or less passive in the face of the facts which indicate that not only are the processes of the integration of society on a self-managing basis stagnating, but there are also broad areas of economic, political, and ideological life that are in the grip of processes of disintegration; and that the phenomena of territorial barriers, the disruption of the unified market, the group-property usurpation of "social capital," etc., are taking on increasingly greater dimensions.

#### Guardianship Over One's Territory

Pasic then suggests several problems that should be dealt with by the committee, at least during the initial phase:

1. It is obvious that the extent of administrative intervention in the economy is continually increasing. A sort of political and administrative guardianship is being established over associated labor in "one's territory." State-property monopoly relationships are being restored on this basis, in a more or less concealed form, and something is being formed that reminds one very much of republic, provincial, and even municipal "capital."

Pasic says that in order to curtail these tendencies, among other things, it is necessary to conduct a thorough investigation of how the constitutional authority of the organs of the sociopolitical communities "to set business conditions" is used, and to determine where and how much it is being exceeded. On the basis of this, certain measures should be proposed in order to strengthen and make more effective the constitutional guarantees against the usurpation of the rights of associated labor in the sphere of material reproduction.

2. In the early phases of the development of the delegate system (through which we are just passing now), there have been certain biases that seriously complicate and hamper the process of decision-making, and jeopardize the effective implementation of what has been decided. This has to do with the excessive institutionalization of various partial interests, and the formalization of the procedure for their coordination. There is too much emphasis on lengthy procedures and finding compromises, while more long-term and general interests hardly get through. This gives rise to a need for frequent political arbitration and encourages the creation of informal forms and methods for real decision-making outside the delegate system (the various "coordination bodies" and so forth).

## The Judicial System -- Burdened by Enormous Disputes

Pasic reminds us of the penetration by partial interests, and the perception that nearly all conflicts in society can be resolved today through consultation and agreement, ruling out decisionmaking by a majority of votes even where this would be necessary. He adds that this inevitably leads to political paralysis and thereby creates a broad field for political mediation. Pasic goes on to say that our judicial system, for example, is threatening to break down under the burden of the enormous number of disputes. Judging by the number of disputes that have to be resolved before the courts (both the state and self-management courts), it could be said that we are the most conflict-ridden society in the world.

With these warnings, he suggests a few ideas. First of all, we should investigate to see where the framework established by the Constitution for applying the principle of a mandatory consensus in decisionmaking has been exceeded. One has the impression that what was, for understandable reasons, accepted as a method of making decisions on certain specifically enumerated issues in the Council of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, has been spontaneously extended to almost all areas of political and self-managing decisionmaking in the assembly system and in associated labor. In spite of the constitutional solutions we have approached a state in which nearly every recognized factor in the process of decisionmaking has the right to a veto, and can in fact prevent a decision from being made even when it is necessary from the viewpoint of the common and broader social interests.

Pasic also recommends that we investigate to see how much of a deviation there has been, and where, from the basic constitutional concept of the sociopolitical communities and the relationships that are established among them. With respect to their vertical association, the Constitution rejects the principle of superiority and subordination in their mutual relations, but also rejects the idea that the broader community is merely the result of a "contract" and agreement among narrower sovereign communities. Instead of this, the Constitution stipulates relationships of equality, independence, and mutual cooperation, on the basis of the rights and duties established by the Constitution.

Has this kind of relationship among the sociopolitical communities been achieved in practice? Doesn't the way in which the principle of decisionmaking in the Federation on the basis of consultation and agreement among the republics and provinces is being implemented today deprive the organs of the Federation of certain vital attributes of an independent legal and political entity?

### Personnel "Keys" and the Broken Chain of Responsibility

3. The collective and personal responsibility of all those performing self-managing, political, and social functions, in general, is being emphasized more and more, but this is still more in a theoretical and verbal manner.

In connection with this, he recommends that the following be investigated: how much has the mechanism for the regular control of labor and for the establishment of responsibility been concretized and developed? Also, how much have the system

of responsibility and the system of the recruitment, selection, and assignment of personnel been integrated and coordinated?

Pasic notes that wherever an organ or body to which people are nominally responsible does not have any influence over the selection, appointment, and further assignment of officials who are formally responsible to it, and wherever personnel policy is not subject to real control by the public, the chain of responsibility is inevitably broken. We should establish how much the automatic rotation of people in leading posts, the agreements on personnel assignment that are made in advance within narrow closed circles, and the mechanical application of various "keys" are driving out the criterion of previously displayed results, ability, and expertise. At a time when there is still a large and influential professional political and managerial stratum, this issues are particularly significant. The problem of responsibility in the delegate system cannot be resolved without a corresponding democratization of personnel policy.

#### Serious Distortions of the Self-Managing Interest Communities

4. A very serious problem is represented by the spontaneous and continuing multiplication of the administrative apparatus in the services of the socio-political communities, self-managing interest communities, and even sociopolitical organizations. The formal "de-etatization" of some social activities has led to results that are the opposite of those expected in this regard, and the total number of employees has increased, rather than decreased.

There is no doubt that the constitutional concept of the self-managing interest communities has suffered serious distortions in practice. Searching for the root of these phenomena is among the important tasks that have thus far been neglected, according to Pasic.

5. A problem that also deserves particular attention is the excessive use of the regulatory power of the state. The conditions for work and business are regulated by an enormous number of legal and other acts and regulations. No matter how democratic the procedure for passing all of these regulations is, this itself inhibits free and spontaneous self-managing initiatives, and transforms the worker into an object of state guardianship.

In this jungle of regulations of every sort, the worker often feels lost and impotent. He is forced to seek assistance from specialized "guides," and thus in the organizations of associated labor themselves, and in other self-managing institutions, a large stratum of administrative workers is created--specialists on interpreting and producing all sorts of regulatory acts--and in our entire legal order, these acts number in the millions.

Pasic believes that the formation of the special commission for the problems of economic stabilization will also bring several long-term positive results; but the unresolved (and these days, very exacerbated) problems in the operation of the political system cannot be left to one side either, since the removal of the obvious weaknesses in the political system and the issue of its further improvement cannot be separated from the key issue of the LC's ability to exert a decisive influence on the basic direction of social trends.

He thinks that a commission on the current problems in the operation of the political system could be formed under the Presidency of the SFRY, possibly under the LCY Central Committee, or within the framework of the Federal Social Council for the Issues of the Sociopolitical System.

While we are waiting to see how this idea will be received, as well as the text itself, in which the author does not go into the theoretical considerations, it is worth saying that this is in any case a useful attempt to point out possible directions for changes that would contribute to more effective operation of the political system, after a general crisis that has lasted for several months.

9909

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ORIGINS OF RESILIENT STATISM ANALYZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1657, 3 Oct 82  
pp 18-19

[Excerpts from article by Dr Vladan Cetkovic: "The Charms of Statism"]

[Text] There is a logic in it when it is said that everything is in crisis--capitalism, socialism, statism and self-management relations. Better analyses, however, show that there has been a mistake about one thing: statism is as healthy as ever.

Scholarly debate and social criticism must tend constantly toward improvement of the social relations of self-management in the economy, in science and politics. One notes, however, that the relations that exist between these domains of the work of society are better suited to the interests of narrow groups which have attained independence than to the real needs and capabilities of associated labor and to the delegate system. For our Marxist science and social practice the question arises: When and under what conditions did the processes of disintegration and involution and various monopolistic and particularistic tendencies begin? What has prevented linkage among these spheres of the work of society, which "are joined by the nature of things," but which have been separated by means of the political-ideological factor and the inertia of the old administrative-centralistic (statist) system? The effect of this factor and the inertia of the old relations and methods twist and misrepresent the relations of self-management and the "free exchange of labor" in those sectors as in a kind of camera obscura.

The emphasis in scientific research should be shifted toward the internal "concealed factors of the base, of the entire structure of society, as well as of certain political forms." We come to agreement with relative ease concerning general matters and problems, on interpretation of the laws of the economic basis of society and the importance of the "economic factor." However, the thrust of scientific analysis and social action should be aimed at investigating and analyzing certain "empirically given circumstances" which objectively influence both socioeconomic relations, conditions and relations in physical production, as well as the corresponding forms of the political system.



If in routine fashion we pass over the "empirically given circumstances" which in certain situations have even a decisive role for social and political life as we do over something that is negligible and random, then we will not enter into the essence of certain social phenomena. That is, these "concealed factors" which are "slumbering" in various sectors of society's work and creativity are a challenge to authentic scientific commitment, and then a possibility for a new potential of science, economy and politics.

Which are those structures, relations, nuances and variations in thought and activity which can take us onto the terrain of new values in the natural and social sciences, and what can lead us astray, to solutions which are opposed to our political-ideological commitments? What in fact are the empirical circumstances to which we must pay attention in science, in political action and in our commitments?

They are the following:

The natural conditions which have an impact on overall social developments. Within this "factor" and the given set of diverse circumstances there are unprecedented opportunities to "achieve social firmness" of the process of production of socialist self-management. This new historical process of production of physical conditions for the existence of human life has a historically favorable tendency both in social relations (social ownership) and also in the mode of production.

A higher level of development of society's productive forces of labor presupposes emancipation from primitive and underdeveloped production relations in which the interest of independent parts of society, groups and strata is retained with pronounced group-ownership and private-ownership tendencies. In opposition, then, to the development and enrichment of the content of social-ownership relations, there emerge monopolistic and particularistic tendencies. They are concealed behind a screen of false class and national interests. At the same time this is, of course, both an obstacle to the pooling of labor and capital and a cause of the halting of the process of socialization in all domains of the life of society before it reaches the level of state-ownership relations.

Relations among the nationalities, especially in the context of the transitional era and socialist self-management, are a qualitatively new factor in the overall set of socioeconomic and political relations. Remnants of the old society and outdated relations, traditions, and so on, intersect and collide with one another through them. Nor is there any explanation for the absurd demand for creation of so-called pure ethnic entities, for segregation and enclosure in narrow limits in the face of the ongoing processes of social cohesiveness through self-management. In the broad space of ethnic emancipation, which only in our society has become one of the most important commitments and principles, there are examples of doctrinaire interpretation of certain segments of nationality relations. The class aspect and the nationality aspect are being substituted for one another. Distortion and vulgarization of brotherhood and unity are jeopardizing the foundations and continuity of the socialist revolution.

The given "self-management framework" of society ensures the necessary prerequisites for resolution of the nationality question. However, nationality relations may not be a matter confined to particular institutions, the constitution, proclamations, and resolutions, but must be the concern of all the progressive forces.

Self-management objectively contributes to the national emancipation of every nationality and ethnic minority. And conversely, it is the duty of all nationalities and ethnic minorities to enrich and develop the social relations of self-management. Without that reciprocal aspect progress will be halted or slowed in nationality relations and in self-management.

Historical conditions often operate from outside. They are complementary to natural conditions and nationality relations. The historical "factor" is always present in elucidation not only of the "specters of the past," but also of contemporary world-historical events. Many phenomena, forms of behavior in, say, the spheres of science, education, culture and nationality relations can hardly be understood unless a thorough study is made of the facts of history. They contribute to the discovery of certain hidden features in particular social epochs which are not reached by the conventional methods and knowledge in the other social sciences.

However, there are examples where certain illusions are hidden behind the "historical conditions," where the past is embellished for the sake of the future, where circumstances that have a direct effect on the course of social development are neglected. Marx pointed to the complexity and contradictoriness of the "historical factor." According to him: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they wish, nor under circumstances which they themselves have chosen, but under circumstances which they actually found in place, which are given and inherited."

Ensuring the continuity of our revolution presupposes a scientific and Marxist insight into the content of numerous "given circumstances" in economic and social relations as well as those "which are given and inherited." In this way it is possible to examine social development more realistically and to pose those tasks which society is capable of performing. Things (and relations) can be turned around "in epochs of revolutionary crises" if the "spirits of the past are called up, if their names, colorful slogans and bones are called up and then, the scene of world history is presented readorned in these beautiful clothes and by means of this borrowed language."

There is a need, in other words, to make a maximum social effort and build up the "mother tongue" of socialist self-management. The "spirit" of that language is a driving force behind the true creators, the "heroes of labor and the revolution."

"The most intimate secret and concealed basis of the entire social construction, and therefore of the political form of relations of sovereignty and dependence, in short, of every specific form of the state which is temporarily given we in every case find in the direct relation of the owner of the conditions of production toward the direct producers, in a relationship whose form

always corresponds naturally to some particular level of development of the method of work and therefore to its social productive power. This does not prevent that same economic base--the same in its main conditions--from being able to display, as a consequence of innumerable different empirical circumstances, natural conditions, employment relations, historical conditions operating from outside, and so on, infinite variations and nuances in its manifestation which may be understood only by an analysis of those empirical given circumstances" (Marx).

In science and in actual social relations we must free ourselves of unscientific preconceptions and intellectual constructs. "It is in real life, where speculation ends, that real positive science begins, the portrayal of practical activity, of the practical process of human development. Rhetoric without consciousness ceases, and real knowledge must come to replace it" (Marx). We cannot judge ourselves, science, economics, and political relations according to what our subjective commitments and conceptions are, since we would then make an error and we would not arrive at a new quality of relations in economics, science and politics.

For the contemporary world, and that also includes our society, the important question is who derives profit from all the new developments of the general human spirit and their social application? The real social position of science, of society's labor and of creativity is such in our country that it cannot objectively contribute to the productive force of labor. It is outside the real needs and possibilities of society. It is a general conviction that we cannot be satisfied with the material and social position of science, nor with internal relations in science and scientific work. Should the status of science change for the better, we would achieve more in the economy, in economic relations, in ideology and indeed in overall social development.

The new attribute of self-management relations between these three spheres of the labor of society could facilitate a more thorough resolution of certain problems and contradictions and a new attribute of socioeconomic relations in them. Science must answer the question of what the real driving forces are--at this level of development of socialist self-management, and what could lead to new solutions? To anathematize contradictions as an alleged absolute evil makes no scientific sense, since it contradicts the dialectics of the real life of society. Certain contradictions are actually a real driving force of society.

We must free ourselves of certain illusions and conclusions based on formal logic to the effect that the present world crisis has come about solely because of the contradictions that exist in capitalism and certain socialist countries. It is the task of science to analyze the nature of social contradictions and to point out their essence and ways of resolving them. Contradictions come about because of certain differences and antagonisms between material and productive forces and the production relations and the tendency for progressive development is objectively contained in them.

In the foreign literature, and indeed in our own, there is frequent writing and debate about the relationship between socialism and capitalism and

differences between them. Even under present conditions it is relevant to ask whether socialism is lagging behind capitalism and labor productivity, and at what points and in what areas, under what conditions. How much does a worker get (earn) and how does he do it under capitalism, and what does he get in socialism? This is an important socioeconomic and political issue, since there are serious ideological differences concerning it. In connection with this set of issues bourgeois theoreticians and ideologues try to dispute the historical role of the working class and the other progressive forces of the socialist societies. They write that the working class under socialism, because of its poor material position, has little motivation and therefore cannot be the historical vehicle of social transformations.

The essence of Marxist analysis leads us to the question: Does the worker have a lasting historical interest in the reproduction of "social capital"? Do the associated workers (organized in various forms of the economic association of labor) have an interest in accumulation, that is, in carrying on expanded reproduction? If we do not answer that question, can we define the social function of science and of scientific research?

There is a need for us to define in more detail the nature and importance of production relations under socialism. It is becoming clear that this is not some neutral question in the science of political economy, political science and sociology, but a key problem of overall revolutionary and social commitments. Unless we build and affirm social consciousness concerning the necessity of self-management continuity of our revolution, it could happen that we would be "assured" that continuity by the state, by statism and by the bureaucracy, and that we would actually spontaneously and haphazardly find ourselves in the labyrinthine practice and thought of statism and the bureaucracy.

Everything we have said constitutes a serious warning about the need for thorough Marxist analysis of the decisive social tendencies of the present time. Study of the transitional epoch should destroy the one-sided and arbitrary rhetoric that results from the unscientific approach, from formal logic and from intellectual constructs. According to them, capitalism is in crisis, statism is in crisis, and socialism is in crisis; everything is in crisis, while at the same time we speak of a crisis of our own relations of socialist self-management. However, it is becoming clear even to an ordinary observer that statism is not any sort of marginal phenomenon at all, but an inevitable phenomenon of the transitional epoch.

Statism today, under these conditions, with its power, with its economic and military force, with numerous powers and the centralistic instruments it manipulates, is hale and hearty. It makes sense for us to arrive at sociopolitical commitments and scientific knowledge so that we could set up a barrier to statism and contribute to establishment of the broad front of the struggle against statist and bureaucracy tendencies, which are proving to be more resilient and resistant than is usually thought. Those forces quickly become encapsulated in the relations and institutions of socialist self-management. They have to be exposed and driven out.

7045

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DISPUTE ARISES OVER MONUMENT TO 19TH-CENTURY SERB RULER

Sculpture Ready, Authorities Not

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1241, 17 Aug 82 pp 16-18.

[Article by Bogosav Marjanovic: "Here I Am, Here You Are, So Decide!"]

[Text] The monument entitled "Takovo Uprising," the work of the sculptor Petar Ubavkic, which for 80 years has languished in a cellar, was supposed to be set up in Takovo a few days ago, but has not been as yet. Why?

Last week was fair time in Takovo, that traditional and famous fair which lasts 7 days. There was everything under the sun at the fair. Most of all there was roast lamb, roast suckling pig and even roast kid. And quite a few tents with lusty-voiced woman singers. And the earth groans there are so many people. Even many natives of Takovo working abroad came back to show their fellow countrymen their new or used cars purchased or rented for this occasion. Probably fearing that their fellow villagers will not notice the motorized horses on which they have galloped here, they take no chances and constantly toot the horn. Time after time the singer is announcing: "Such-and-such a song for Petar Petrovic from such-and-such a village in the red Mercedes registered in Germany." The curious onlookers press close about the tents, watching the "Germans" from Takovo living it up and festooning the singers and accordion players with deutschemarks.

A bit further on the grandfathers and fathers of these gay blades are selling horses and oxen and fat rams, since this is a livestock fair until noon and a people's fair beginning in the afternoon. But few people are looking after their livestock. The peasants are complaining and pointing to an enclosure a short distance beyond the fairgrounds, where the curious are crowded around and saying:

"Alas, if only he were alive, he would buy all this livestock from us. He traded only in livestock and plums, and the government never had debts. But these merchants we have today trade in everything under the sun, and they have neither good looks nor good credit."

Who is it the Takovo hosts are pointing at, and about whom are they speaking?

"About Milos Obrenovic, my friend. He is languishing there inside that enclosure."

And indeed, behind the board enclosure, there was the former ruler of Serbia Milos Obrenovic himself in the company of Metropolitan Melentije Pavlovic who in 1815 gave communion to the Takovo rebels and the prince himself here in Takovo. What is Milos doing back here in Takovo, why is he languishing in a prison of boards in front of the headquarters of the local community in Takovo? Is he waiting for the authorities here to grant some petition of his? He is illiterate, we know, so perhaps he needs help. We therefore sought out Dragoslav Timotijevic, a cabinetmaker from here who is president of the local community, then Branimir Stefanovic, a chauffeur at the Takovo Agroindustrial Combine who is president of the basic organization of the League of Communists, and Dragutin Polomcic, president of the basic organization of the SAWP, to answer these questions for us.

"The first part of your question," our informants said, "we can answer immediately, but the second part about his languishing--ask some of the comrades in Belgrade. As far as we are concerned, he long ago should have been up there on the hill above the spot where in 1815 he raised the Second Serbian Uprising. We have set aside a place for him there. You see even the pedestal for the monument has been dug up. But certain comrades in Belgrade said in passing at some recent gathering, speaking for themselves, that to erect a monument to Milos Obrenovic in Takovo at this moment might be politically awkward, might be interpreted as Serbian nationalism. After that, some newswoman from KOMUNIST rushed to declare that it was not right for us to erect a monument to an unenlightened despot, to the founder of a dynasty remembered for its evil, and at the end of the article she put the question: Who needs this symbol, which neither esthetically, nor historically, nor again politically belongs to this time?"

But, our informants said, this frightened the opstina officials in Gornji Milanovac, and they told us to wait a bit. And so instead of on the hill Milos has remained under the hill, in a wooden suit of armor in his own Takovo.

#### The Monument in the Cellar

Before we present the opinions of our accommodating informants and other people with whom we talked about all this and before we show that the people of Takovo and Gornji Milanovac have done nothing on their own, but have rather had the concurrence of the competent political, historical and cultural institutions and individuals, beginning with their local community and up through the opstina and the region to the republic, we will relate to you the unusual odyssey of this monument.

The first Serbian sculptor, Petar Ubavkic, made this work for the 1900 international exposition in Paris and called it "Takovo Uprising Group." The monument represents Milos Obrenovic brandishing his saber and Metropolitan Melentije Pavlovic, who gave communion to both Milos and the rebels here in Takovo before they set off to battle the Turks, is giving him his blessing, bending his knee before him.

Little Serbia, which was ruled at that time by Aleksandar Obrenovic, did not have enough money to cast the monument, so that Milos and Archpriest Melentije fetched up not in Paris, but in a classroom in the Palilula Elementary School in Belgrade, where the sculptor Ubavkic had a temporary studio. Of course, the Karadjordjevides soon came to power, and the monument remained where it was right up until World War II. When after the liberation people in the National Museum in Belgrade finally took an interest in it, the monument was in a pitiable condition, since the former classroom in which it stood had been turned into the cleaningwomen's closet. They wanted to transfer it to the National Museum, but it turned out that the huge sculptor could not pass through the door of the storeroom, and so the figure, which was then in plaster, was cut up and transferred in pieces to the storeroom of the museum. A few years ago Kragujevac, Pozarevac and Gornji Milanovac became interested in this monument at the same time. The decision was made to give it to Gornji Milanovac.

That is, 3 years ago the people of Gornji Milanovac, out of considerations having to do with history, culture and tourism, after having already erected many monuments to events and individuals in the revolution, decided to make a memorial park in Takovo where the Second Serbian Uprising was raised in 1815. This included choosing a committee of some 40 distinguished sociopolitical, cultural and public figures from Takovo, Gornji Milanovac, Kraljevo and Belgrade. They even drew up a plan for laying out that park, in which among other things they made provision (much of which they have already done) for restoring the modest stone marker that is already there and which marks the spot of the old bush under which the uprising was raised and where Milos Obrenovic uttered those historic words: "Here I am, here you are, war upon the Turks." Then the landscaping, restoration of the log church which is already under government protection, Milos Obrenovic's log house in Gornja Crnuca, the old chardak [an oriental version of the garrison house--translator's note] on the Savinac, and so on. And finally, the placement of this group "Takovo Uprising" by the sculptor Petar Ubavkic.

#### The Commission of Experts

The committee immediately communicated all this to the republic Conference of the SAWP of Serbia, that is, its committee at that time for celebration of the 175th anniversary of the First Serbian Uprising, and on 2 April 1980 it received a reply.

"Here, see what is written there," said Dragutin Polomcic, president of the basic organization of the SAWP in Takovo. This is what we read:

"In recognition of the importance of the 1815 uprising in the context of the indissoluble continuity of the love of freedom and revolutionary spirit of the Serbian people, as an extension of its struggle for freedom, dignity and survival which began with the revolution in 1804, the republic Committee for Celebration of the 175th Anniversary of the First Serbian Uprising in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, in a meeting held 19 March 1980. has given full support to your initiative and willingness, as part of the efforts being undertaken to celebrate this important anniversary, to take steps in the time to come to carry out the master plan for arranging the Takovo complex."

The letter went on to say that the work envisaged would be done in collaboration with the republic Bureau for Protection of Cultural Monuments of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia and the Bureau for Protection of Monuments in Kraljevo.

"And that is what we did," our informants said.

Further on the letter said:

"Erection of the monument 'Takovo Uprising,' the sculpture by Petar Ubavkic, because of the complexity of the task itself requires broader consultation and the gathering of opinions of distinguished artists, scholars, urban planners, and cultural and public figures, and we therefore recommend that you create a special commission consisting of a number of our distinguished and established creative people who would propose a possible solution toward adoption of a final position...."

"And so we also obtained that."

They showed us the minutes of the meeting of that committee, which was made up of some 20 distinguished cultural and public figures from Belgrade, Kraljevo, Gornji Milanovac and Takovo, including, for example, Stevan Bodnarov, academy-trained sculptor, Dr Boza Prodanovic, dean of the Fine Arts Academy, Bosko Petrovic, professor at the School of Architecture, Vanja Kraut of the National Museum in Belgrade, Dr Radomir Stanic, assistant director of the Bureau for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia, and others. They resolved as follows:

"The group 'Takovo Uprising' fulfills all conditions from the historical and artistic standpoint to be cast in bronze and set up in the Takovo complex."

The opinion of Miodrag Kolaric, former director of the National Museum, was also obtained concerning the monument's creator, and in his letter he was to say in part:

**It Is Not Trash!**

"Petar Ubavkic was the first sculptor which the Serbs had of their own, and until Mestrovic's emergence he was our best and the greatest sculptor of the South Slavs. The group 'Takovo Uprising' undoubtedly belonged among his most monumental works as a sculptor. This was our first monumental composition, and as such, in addition to its artistic value, it also has equal historical importance."

Mioslav Petrik, a young architect of the "Graditelj" Construction Enterprise in Gornji Milanovac who is working without pay to arrange the park in which the monument is to be set up, says resignedly:

"And just imagine, in spite of all those opinions, with all those political squabbles, some people now imagine that this monument is---trash. Everything under the sun!"



Dragutin Polomcic, president of the basic organization of the SAWP in Takovo, adds:

"We brought here Kolj Siroka, former chairman of the Presidium of the SAWP of Serbia, and later his successor Dragomir Milojevic, and they had nothing against these ideas and plans of ours. After all that, we introduced an optional tax of 10 percent for 6 years for arrangement of the entire park. The tax obtained the votes of 94 percent of the citizens of Takovo and will yield about 300 million old dinars, and many people are also making voluntary cash contributions. Dragoslav Timotijevic, a farmer, donated the field in which the monument will be set up, and the republic Community for Culture donated 75 million old dinars to cast the monument in bronze."

When the monument was cast, the people of Takovo went to Belgrade to fetch it.

Branimir Stefanovic, a driver for the Takovo Agroindustrial Combine who is also president of the basic organization of the League of Communists in Takovo, told us:

"I went to Belgrade for the monument. They loaded it on the truck; it is huge, and Milos' saber is raised up over it. When we entered the tunnel at Stavica, the saber caught on the edge of the opening and broke off. We were crushed. How could we bring Milos to Takovo without the saber? We called the people from the foundry to come and put Milos' saber back in his hand. And, as you see, we dug up the pedestal for the monument, and a few days ago we intended to set it up without any sort of fanfare when of a sudden certain comrades in Belgrade said that the political situation was not right for that."

#### A Link in Tourism

This bluff young worker pauses and continues in some agitation:

"First, this is not a monument to Milos Obrenovic, but to the Takovo Uprising, that is, to the beginning of the revolution in Serbia. This people did not rise up in rebellion only in 1941. Some people seem to think that instead of Milos' saber and Metropolitan Melentije's cross, they should have been holding a sickle and hammer. In that case let us abolish Milos the Great Street in Belgrade.

"Did the comrades who spoke with suspicion about this job of ours at the meeting in Belgrade sip Prince Milos mineral water so that their throats would not dry up from all their haranguing," Stefanovic laughed.

"We came upon the idea of arranging the Takovo memorial park," spoke up Dragoslav Timotijevic, president of the Takovo Local Community, "out of historical and tourist motives as long as 3 years back. To upgrade this area which every year is visited by about 30,000 schoolchildren and tourists, to enrich this fair so that it is not just a livestock fair, and so that in addition to the eating and drinking at the fair, there would also be something to see. This monument is not the most important thing in this entire park; it is only a link in the development of tourism and the struggle of this area for

freedom.... Where did they get the idea of nationalism in the Takovo area? That has never existed here! Here the people are in favor of brotherhood and unity, the spirit of consensus. We have some 10 families who have moved here from Bosnia and taken jobs in the Takovo Agroindustrial Combine, built houses, virtual villas, and there you see a motel which, as you see, is called the 'Home of the Two Bosnians,' we have received them like brothers, and they us. They also voted for the tax. Everyone also concurred in our idea in the opstina, in the region, in the republic, and now after this article people have gotten a bit afraid, and they have left us isolated at the end, holding the bag as it were while they dodge about. Here in Takovo we like the truth, we do not like hypocrisy, intrigues behind the scenes, this makes us mad. Moreover, the Takovo Uprising, this Milos Obrenovic, take him for what he is, they do not belong just to us in Takovo, just in this opstina, but they are Serbian, they belong to the republic, and indeed, if you like, they belong to Yugoslavia."

Ilija Drasovic, a painter from Gornji Milanovac, every year at the time of the Takovo fair exhibits his pictures under the Takovo bush, and again on this occasion.

"My good people," he says, "recently I returned from West Germany and Norway where I had shows. There they turn history into business, and we turn it into political monkey business. By setting up that monument we are not bringing back the dynasty to Serbia, but history."

We looked on: people came in groups and peeked through the board enclosure where the monument to Milos Obrenovic is located. Among them the old Belgrade professor Radoslav Medenica and his wife and grandson. The old woman shook her head and said:

"Njegos also spent a long time like this boarded up, and finally he was set up on the summit of Lovcen. It is a scandal that almost 2 centuries have passed since the Second Uprising and still there is no monument to Milos in Takovo...."

The voice of the woman singer is still coming over the loudspeaker from the fairgrounds:

"For the party from West Germany in the white Mercedes...."

And Milos seems to be shouting from behind that enclosure:

"Here I am, but where are you?"

### Sardonic Response From Reader

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1243, 31 Aug 82 pp 4-5

[Two letters to the editor from Nikola Bugarcic, holder of the 1941 Commemorative Medal, of Belgrade: "Who Feels Awkward About the Takovo Uprising?"]

[Text] We received the first letter from Comrade Nikola Bugarcic when the last issue of our paper was already at the printer's, and we are therefore publishing it together with the second one, which we received a few days later.

[First Letter]

An interesting article entitled "Here I Am, Here You Are, So Decide" was published in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA on 17 August of this year!

To go back for those readers who perhaps did not read it:

In connection with the celebration of the anniversary of the Serbian uprisings at the beginning of the last century the people of Takovo (the populace and all the appropriate "structures") decided to commemorate a very important event which took place in their area in 1815. And their conception of all this was wise, astute and proper. First they obtained all manner of written approval (political and expert), then everything was designed just as it should be, they voted in an optional tax (94 percent of the population voted "for"), they found a long-forgotten sculpture by the sculptor Petar Ubavkic (done 80 years ago), they cast it in bronze, they packed it up and transported it to Takovo, farmer Dragoslav Tomasevic donated his field where the monument was to be erected, they dug up the pedestal ... and then they stopped.... Prince Milos Obrenovic in the company of Metropolitan Milentije ("Takovo Uprising Group") is still languishing in a board enclosure in front of the local headquarters, while up on the hill the foundation is already crumbling.

Why?

Because the opstina officials in Gornji Milanovac took fright and advised that the erection of the monument be postponed a bit because "certain comrades" recently said at "some meeting" in Belgrade that erection of a monument to Milos in Takovo at this moment might be politically awkward, might be interpreted as Serbian nationalism and ... because some newswoman of KOMUNIST attacked the people of Takovo for erecting a monument to "an unenlightened despot and founder of a dynasty famous for the wrong it did."

The only thing I have against the reporter Bogosav Marjanovic is that he did not manage to worm out of his informants who those "some comrades" were.... Or, perhaps, he did manage to do that, and he himself became timid?

I propose to the "some comrades" that they themselves speak up and make the case for their view.... Or, if they find that awkward, let them whisper to the people of Takovo in the same way that they have changed their mind, and

let the people do what they intended, since the will of the people should be respected, and here it is evident and has been expressed very imposingly (94 percent).

I apologize to the newswoman from KOMUNIST that I did not read her article, and I draw my conclusion concerning her position solely from the article already mentioned. If we are to be able to interpret history, we must first be familiar with it, and she either does not know the history of her people or pretends not to know it. Milos has secured a very important place in recent history of the Serbian people for altogether different reasons, and not for those which she cites (unenlightened despot, founder of an evil dynasty).

The only thing I do not understand is why you people in Takovo became afraid? ... Do not shame yourselves before your ancestor prince (Kodza Milos!).... To be sure, he himself was cautious, astute, wily and cunning, but he was not a coward.... For many of the moves he made as a statesman even he first had to obtain the tsar's endorsement (that is how it was at that time), but he also managed to push many things through without the endorsement.... And you have the endorsement to erect a monument--all there in black and white--and yet you hesitate!... Or again you are so cautious that for you even an endorsement is not sufficient, and you even want the sultan's decree to enthrone the prince in bronze in Tomasevic's field, and that 122 years after "his demise."

[Second Letter]

I had just sent a letter to your column when I spotted in the most recent issue of KOMUNIST an article entitled "Midsummer Night's Dream" under the caption "Mentalities," written by Zorica Banjac.

I was seized by a kind of anxiety because I realized that that might be the same person who in my previous letter I rudely referred to as "some newspaper-woman from KOMUNIST." I apologize; take my word for it that I did not at that time know her name. When I also read the last lines of her article, the anxiety began to turn into trepidation. I see that we are talking about very dangerous matters.... I began to reproach myself in this manner: What did I have to do that for, why did I have to meddle in those matters involving those dangerous isms?... But what can I do now--I can never escape from this skin.... You are my only hope of somehow extricating myself, comrade editor. I call upon you as a comrade when you publish my letter of 20 August in your column, publish the present text below it as a kind of postscript in order to anticipate Comrade Zorica from giving me as well some role in Shakespeare in the concluding portion of some treatise on the prince in bronze.

So, in the article mentioned Comrade Zorica with the help of Shakespeare ("Midsummer Night's Dream") establishes who is who in this "Takovo drama," and it thus turns out that the principal roles are played by the following: the "brave citizens of Takovo, the timid politicians and a certain newswoman from Belgrade." I am surprised that she did not detect any others involved. She probably thinks that they are extras not even worth mentioning, by contrast with the reporter Bogosav Marjanovic, who imparts to their roles rather great importance. To go back, they are the following: the republic

Conference of the SAWP of Serbia and its two chairmen personally; a committee of some 40 distinguished sociopolitical figures of Takovo, Milanovac, Kraljevo and Belgrade; the republic Bureau for Protection of Cultural Monuments and the corresponding bureau from Kraljevo; the commission of experts made up of some 20 artists and cultural and public figures, and so on.

They are all in favor of erecting the monument, but since Comrade Zorica does not mention them, though she should have, the readers will be in a quandary as where to place them--among the "brave" or the "timid," among the nationalists or among the antinationalists.

So, since the main roles have been given out (in this Shakespeare-Banjac co-production) now begins the plot of a drama, which revolves around the question of who is for and who is against the prince in bronze, and on what grounds?

The citizens of Takovo (those whom Bogosav Marjanovic talked with) are for, but they resolutely reject any suggestion of nationalism (Serbian, of course). However, Comrade Zorica very ingeniously, with the help of Freud, ascertains that they are not altogether straight as far as nationalism is concerned.

The newswoman is against. She also resolutely rejects any other isms in her case (without in this case appealing to Freud), and gives as her arguments historical-esthetic-political criteria, accompanied by serious threats (belt-tightening because of stabilization, the front in Srem--Jajinci and so on). She addresses an especially harsh threat to the republic Community for Culture because of some 75 million dinars (old ones presumably) and announces a further investigation in that regard.

The plot of a drama culminates at the very end of the second act in a passage which the newswoman intones in a crescendo:

"That monument, in the context of everything referred to, is political trash even though some would like to represent it otherwise, and insistence on erecting it is an initiative which someone less well intentioned than the newswoman of KOMUNIST might refer to with a more trenchant name."

I suppose the scenario for the denouement of the play has not yet been written, that is, that there are several possible versions.

You are probably acquainted with Comrade Zorica as fellow members of the same profession. Please put me in contact with her so that the three of us can nicely agree on Act III. We will, of course, insist on a happy ending, or, translated into our language--the wolves have to have had their fill and not a single sheep lost.... What surprises you? Do you think that is not possible? ... Perhaps that is not in accord with the requirements of contemporary play-writing, but it is not out of line with the system. It would fit there somehow as a self-management agreement and a reconciliation of views with a view to harmonizing pluralistic interests. We will have no trouble finding a form for this stratagem and a name to call it by--all is in the essence: to get the bronze prince out of the boards, to unstick the labels, and to save face (and perhaps even one's head).

This in fact is not even my exclusive idea.... You will be surprised if I tell you that the spiritual progenitrix of that idea is actually Comrade Zorica (perhaps Freud had his finger in this as well). That is, I read her article carefully several times and I found one passage which I seized upon as a drowning man a straw. I quote: "No one has the intention (or right) to dispute Milos' merits before history. We are not in principle against the monument to Milos as a historical figure."

We will seize upon that principle of hers and nicely explain to her that in history there are both good and bad figures and that we are insisting on the monument precisely in order to cram the prince into that latter category. With skillful propaganda that could even be used precisely in the service of antinationalistic purposes on the basis of that motto that peoples have the governments (and the rulers) which they deserve. And thus the matter is clear: the Serbs were not deserving of a better ruler, since they themselves were unenlightened and roughcast, so to speak, semisavage barbarians in these benighted Byzantine-Turkish Balkans, far from enlightened, refined and civilized Europe. We will say even worse things about the prince than she did herself. We will go on to say that as a merchant he was a cheat, that he ran after women, that he was involved in bribery and corruption (he bribed the Turks and was himself bribed by them, and who knows how many people he took bribes from). We will, of course, pass over in silence that even today there are cheats and people who take bribes, and that not only among merchants, and that today, now that the sexual revolution has been carried out, the prince could even become likable to new generations for his "chasing after women." We will also recall that the prince was a collaborator (working with the occupier), that he took off Karadjordj's head, and if we deem it opportune, we could throw it up to him that he conducted a policy of establishing ties with the blocs. The faction consisting of Milos--Milenko (Stojkovic)--Jakov (Nenadovic) is highly suspicious in that regard. And we have yet another high trump: if we leave Karadjordj on Vracar and do not set Milos up anywhere, the generations to come, and indeed even the rest of the world, could get the false impression about the Serbs being unified and monolithic down through history, which might dangerously nurture nationalistic and hegemonistic illusions and tendencies.

Should we not be sufficiently convincing with the line of argument given above, we might also take a quite different point of departure--by utterly minimizing the matter and attempting to prove to Comrade Zorica that this matter of erecting a monument to the prince is not actually any generally Serb affair at all, but a purely local undertaking down there of some of the people in Takovo, that is, of citizens of the former Rudnik Nahija [Turkish district--translator's note]. By means of some ethnogenesis we could quite easily prove that those people of Takovo and Rudnik are not really true Serbs, but some altogether small people (perhaps only a so to speak ethnic group) who came from God knows where at some unknown time. Only the uninformed might find this idea crazy, but if a nice case is made for it and scholarly arguments are presented, it could have a very convincing effect and achieve its goal. Since the people of Takovo and Rudnik are a small people who have no genetic connection to the Serbs and, as we know, since there is no nationalism among small peoples, then let them have their prince, let them parade about on that hill to their heart's content.

Comrade Zorica will probably pull out her last trump as well as to the artistic value of the sculpture entitled "Takovo Uprising Group," saying that it is an esthetic anachronism done in a pompous neoromantic style full of pathos and the like. We will accept her view without debate. We will declare that we never even heard of this Ubavkic. And we would rather have a Henry Moore or at least a Dzamonja, but they are very expensive, and Ubavkic didn't cost them anything. Since the stabilization is now in effect, we must be very mindful of that, since the people in Takovo do not have any more money. (This is where we hit her with her own argument about "tightening the belt.")

I am convinced, comrade editor, that we will reach an agreement with Comrade Zorica and get the job done in fine style. There is, to be sure, one small hazard we are constantly mindful of. That is, it could happen that she continue to insist (solely as a matter of principle, but not because she herself is completely convinced of it) that the label of nationalism not be removed altogether or from everyone. Let us also accept that. We will quickly carry out as it were an ideological differentiation among all those who were in favor of erecting the monument to the prince. The result of that differentiation should be as follows: All would continue to be "for," but with a new line of argument and with a good bit of sackcloth and ashes. We will choose only one among us whose repentance and whose new line of argument we will not accept regardless of the lengths he goes to. I propose that this "scapegoat" be precisely this poor reporter Bogosav, since, if the truth be told, he is the one who clouded it all up. It is not really very honorable, but it is expedient. In any case, this Bogosav is not even important in the whole matter. The important thing is for us somehow to liberate the prince from that wooden box in front of the local headquarters in Takovo.

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ISLAM OFFICIAL DISCUSSES MOSLEM COMMUNITY'S ROLE

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 82 pp 11-13

[Interview with Dr Ahmet efendija Smajlovic, professor and president of the Body of Elders of the Islamic Community for Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia and Slovenia, by Kreso Speletic, in Zagreb: "We Are the Most Independent in the World"; date not specified]

[Text] The polemics over whether pan-Islamism has or has not emerged even in certain of our own Moslem circles, especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina, over what it actually means, what are its routes and goals, has contributed considerably to the public's interests in the activity of the Islamic Community in Yugoslavia. Especially since at roughly the same time as those debates the general public has also learned about construction of the mosque in Zagreb and the intention to build mosques in Ljubljana and Rijeka. Is there some particular activity and initiative on the part of that religious community in our country or is it simply a question here of a piling up of events which have given that impression?

Dr Ahmet efendija Smajlovic, professor and president of the Body of Elders of the Islamic Community for Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia and Slovenia, also covered this topic in our interview. We found him in Zagreb at the anniversary of the laying of the cornerstone for the mosque being built at the east side of the city. Although the time to talk was limited (between meetings with imams and departure for the airport), he showed extreme patience. Not for a moment did he forget to make his precise responses in a measured and almost diplomatic form, obviously avoiding use of any sort of word or sentence that seemed unfitting in his judgment.

Thus in answer to the question What are the relations at the moment in his opinion between the Islamic Community and the government? Ahmet efendija Smajlovic would answer that he thought "that those relations are constantly developing, deepening and broadening" and that the Islamic Community has in the postwar period "regulated its relations with the government and with our society, taking the view that this society would allow both the Community and its members to truly be enriched by everything that Islam offers as a doctrine and faith in relations of cooperation on an equal footing, understanding, equality and respect."



After this introduction Dr Smajlovic would be quite specific: "It should be borne in mind that the Islamic Community under the conditions of our context--with the diverse nationalities and ethnic minorities, languages and culture--is very well suited by the separation of religion from the government (since there are about 40 religious communities in our country), since by definition that separation makes it possible for religious communities to concern themselves with those matters which are closest to their religious obligations and religious duties. The Islamic Community does not lay claim to any special political status or participation in that respect, since it feels that it has enough obligations in the religious domain: to present the Islamic doctrine to members of the faith, to prepare textbooks and everything necessary to shape a member who is familiar with his own faith."

Dr Smajlovic would add that he truly thinks "that our society has become so open as to truly make it possible for every religious community, including ours, to develop on an equal foundation and principles." He says in this connection that the contribution is mutual--both on the side of the Islamic Community and on the side of society--and that the breadth of understanding contributes to a more humanistic attitude toward everything; that a man should first of all be looked upon as a man regardless of whether he believes in this or that philosophy, doctrine or religion, regardless of his color, and that is basic to the Islamic doctrine and Islamic point of view.

"Those few factors do most to determine relations between sociopolitical communities and the Islamic Community at all levels in the country," Dr Smajlovic said. "We are aware of who in society is responsible for politics and who, at least within the framework of the Islamic Community, is responsible for belief in God. And so long as this society, regardless of the republic, the city or the local community, respects the principles of the constitution and law concerning equality, brotherhood, the sense of community, and unity, the Islamic Community will continue to stand stalwartly on those principles, welcoming every step in the advancement of those relations and in a deepening of understanding."

[Question] In spite of the good relations between the government and society on the one hand and the Islamic Community on the other, there still have been certain irresponsible acts. What is your view of them, to what extent could they spoil those good relations?

[Answer] The cases of irresponsibility are in truth just that, cases of excess, a subjective phenomenon. At least as far as the Islamic Community is concerned. And we treat them as such. I think that they occur mostly because a particular individual has not been able to fit into the flow of things or, to put it better, has not been able to understand the particular factor or the given conditions. Had those individuals kept up with the instructions and guidelines of the Islamic Community and also the resolutions of the highest bodies of the Islamic Community, I believe that the irresponsible acts would not have occurred.

## Importation of Ideology

[Question] Is it true that foreigners are also giving religious training in your communities? If so, is this not a way of "importing" foreign ideology, of bringing about undesirable consequences?

[Answer] As far as the Islamic Community is concerned, there is not a single foreigner employed in religious instruction or in the religious service. We do not have a single foreigner at any level at all. We have our own schools, our own institutions, our own staff, and we feel that no one can work as well in our area as one of our own. Previously we had problems obtaining highly qualified teachers at the postsecondary level, we did not have a single university school, and, as was my own case in studying in Cairo, we had to go abroad. Today the situation is different: we have organized religious instruction virtually from the toddler stage to the university. In publishing the necessary literature on Islamic doctrine we have created a capability in this area where we truly have no need whatsoever for someone to come from abroad and teach. On the other hand we feel that we belong to the most authentic thread of Islamic doctrine, and we do not allow any sort of distorted imports or influences from abroad. We want to preserve our independence today, just as 100 years ago when we separated from the Turkish Mushihat out of a desire for our own independence in the religious area as well. We collaborate with all communities with which that is possible, but without any sort of conditions concerning teaching, orientation or anything else. The policy of the Islamic Community is not determined by anybody whatsoever in either Teheran or Mecca or Cairo or Damascus or Bagdad or Tripoli or Rabat or Algiers. It is determined exclusively in the forums of the Islamic Community here in Yugoslavia.

[Question] In that context what do you think about the debate which has been conducted over the alleged occurrence of pan-Islamization in certain Moslem circles in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Answer] In my opinion pan-Islamism was the most revolutionary movement in the 19th century and lasted until about the middle of this century. Its basic tendency was liberation of the entire world that was enslaved regardless of region, that is, not only of the Arab and Islamic world. Its aspiration was for the world to become free, to be its own master, to decide on its own fate, on its own government. Basically that was and has remained the tendency of pan-Islamism. Unfortunately, this is distorted in our milieu; distortions come even from those who have been above all called to defend a doctrine and a world on a scientific and objectively historical basis. Pan-Islamism does not exist today as a movement, and I am able to say this, since I attend almost all international Islamic conferences from Mecca on. In the Islamic world no one is talking about pan-Islamism, but the talk is about Islamic solidarity. Not for a moment has pan-Islamism been presented in our country in the true scientific light. What is said in our country about pan-Islamism is a kind of distorted understanding that sprang up at a particular moment and thanks to an individual who at that moment played an adverse role even for his own people. Your very newspaper has written on that topic, certain names have been mentioned, but you can be sure that those names had no connection whatsoever with

pan-Islamism. I would like to say that it is the task, above all of university professors, of scholars--regardless of ideology, philosophy, or religion, regardless of the nationality or ethnic minority they belong to, to refrain from calling up ghosts and rather to undertake to present what is constructive, what is humanistic and what is ultimately the most noble in a culture.

#### At Home in Our Own House

[Question] How then is one to account for the great debate, what are its routes, and what are its causes?

[Answer] I think that an answer to that question would take us far away. Insofar as it can be followed, the causes are purely subjective in nature, and I think there is no basis whatsoever from the standpoint of either history or reality. That is why I would not enter into those questions. If, of course, in following the future debates I find it suitable to become involved, I will do so as a scholar, attempting insofar as possible to present things as they should be regardless of my belonging to Islam as a doctrine, a philosophy and a faith.... You see, under the given conditions a difference has been made in our country between the Moslem which is capitalized and the Moslem which is not (when it is capitalized, it signifies the nationality, and when it is not it signifies the follower of the religion--author's note). This difference is deep-rooted in our world and in the context of all the constructive achievements I have already spoken about the fact that Moslems are recognized as a nationality is one of the greatest in our self-management practice, and regardless of what part of Yugoslavia we find ourselves in, we feel that we are at home in our own house.

[Question] You have said that the Islamic Community in Yugoslavia was aloof from any sort of influences from abroad. Yet you do collaborate quite a bit with the Islamic countries.

[Answer] That is so. We do carry on cooperation. I think that the various Islamic countries have a duty to help. As in the case, say, of building the Zagreb mosque, since the members of the Islamic Community in Zagreb and even over a broader area cannot handle it themselves. But that aid is minimal, to say the least. For example, the Islamic Community invested \$4 million for restoration of the Gazi Husrefbeg Mosque in Sarajevo, for the Islamic School of Theology in Sarajevo and the like, and we obtained only about \$300,000 from certain Islamic countries. When those two figures are compared, it is obviously only a symbolic matter. Yet I would like to emphasize something. We had an offer to renew the Beg's mosque in Sarajevo for us. The cost would have been borne by one Islamic country, but there was a stipulation: after the renovation there was to be a small plaque on the mosque which would state who made the renovation possible. We did not accept that condition, since we want to preserve our independence with respect to all events in the religious area, but also in relations with the Islamic countries.

There is something else I would like to emphasize--and many are now stressing it--the Islamic communities and the Islamic world have something to learn from the Islamic Community in Yugoslavia. From organization and activity to

openness, magnanimity, tolerance and understanding. I believe that we are truly the most independent Islamic religious community, in the world if I am not mistaken. I hope that we will continue to be such. So, if someone wants to help, let him go ahead, the channels are open through the bank.

[Question] In writing about the need to build the mosque in Zagreb PREPOROD, the Islamic newspaper, cited the figure that according to estimates there are about 100,000 Moslems, in the religious sense that is, in Croatia. On what basis are such estimates made?

[Answer] You can be sure that we do not keep any sort of statistics on how many Moslems in the religious sense there are in Yugoslavia; we simply do not have figures on that. As for Moslems as a nationality, in this case we use Yugoslavia's official statistics. Thus no one can say what proportion there is between the Moslems who are members of a nationality and the Moslems in the religious sense. The figure which PREPOROD gave is more the result of an approximation; I cannot say whether it is objective or not. In any case it cannot be verified as an official datum. We deal with this as a matter of information, it was picked up by accident and mentioned at random.

#### Religion and Politics

[Question] Islam is a religion in which the line between secular and religious life is hardly noticeable. Is there perhaps room for fear, then, that the line between religion and politics might also be barely noticeable?

[Answer] If we look at Islam in the context of such conceptions, we can simply say this: Islam does not in truth distinguish between the religious and the secular and does not draw a line. Islam believes that the unity of the human being in his physical and spiritual existence is a reflection of the unified physical and spiritual world. Islam does not acknowledge total physical existence, but by the same token it does not accept total spiritual isolation. From this standpoint we might rather speak of a deeper--I will not say dialectical--but a complementary unity of the spiritual and physical, body and mind, and all to a single end: accomplishment of man's happiness in this transient existence, that is, existence in this world, which is simply his road toward still better perfection or achievement of happiness in the other world. This is that component of unity, and from the Islamic standpoint a man can sit the whole day in the mosque, pray and bow down, but that prayer of his will have no value whatsoever unless he contributes to himself, to society and to relations. In other words, if he is only pious, and is not at the same time a creative member not only in his own society, but in a broader sense.

I therefore think that there is no place for fear that there is no line between religion and politics, as in fact I have said on a previous occasion. I strictly divide the work of the Islamic Community in our context. Here there are diverse tendencies, diverse nationalities and ethnic minorities, and it is inevitable for religion to be separate from politics. If, then, we want a religious community to maintain continuity in its work, we must make that division. In other words, this means that the work of the Islamic Community in our country is such as to suit both the community and society. Where the

Islamic communities are in the enormous majority, where the population is 99 percent Moslem, matters stand quite differently. I think that then there is no fear of unity, since this can be of benefit to the people, as has been indicated by several revolutions. For example, the Algerian, the Egyptian and a number of others.

It is another question whether Moslems under given circumstances, at a particular moment and in certain countries have been up to their historical responsibility. Moslems in the 20th century first have to become Moslems; we have to present Islam to Moslems, so that they understand it, and only then can we attempt to present it as a doctrine, as a culture and as a philosophy to others. Not so that they might become Moslems, but so that altogether they become richer by familiarizing themselves with cultures such as the Islamic, the Buddhist, the Chinese and others. This is the basic tendency of Islam and the Islamic doctrine, and that authenticity must be respected, but a difference must be made between its existence in those communities and its existence in our own country.

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## CATHOLIC PRESS ANSWERS CRITICISM AGAINST BISHOPS

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Speaking in Confidence"]

[Text] The faithful, that is, citizens in our country who are believers, have been disturbed and encouraged by various occurrences in our public and church life. People, the faithful and their priests, have been reporting to us on this in conversations and letters from readers. Unfortunately, we have not found space for this department even in this issue of GLAS KONCILA, since the crisis with paper and prices still keep us down to 16 pages, and that limited space is barely enough for the most basic things which we must report for journalistic and other reasons. Among the letters which we have received in past weeks, those stand out which express confusion because Jakov Blazevic has written again in the weekly DANAS and expressed deep bitterness because of the unprecedented political name-calling which the Presidium of TDKS ["Christianity Today" Theological Society] engaged in in SEDAM DANA on 7 August concerning everyone who does not agree with it. Nothing like that was to be expected of those who are otherwise advocates of pluralism, opponents by definition of inquisition and influence of what was called the "brachium saeculare." But the real background of that event is not known to us; so far those who signed the article have not offered any sort of explanations in the press which is in their possession or elsewhere. Which is why confused bitterness does not result in ready-made conclusions. It is truly best not to prejudice anything, but to establish church consensus through prayer, to call upon the aid of the Holy Spirit for enlightenment and action. But as for the renewed attacks of the former chairman of the Presidency of SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia on our most distinguished bishops and other church figures, there does not seem to be anything new in that or anything worthy of real excitement. In the time since his first such statement Blazevic has not even taken pains to read even the documentation sent to him by Monsignor Vladimir Stankovic by way of the Commission for Relations With Religious Communities of the Executive Council of the Assembly of SR Croatia in order to avoid public debate. One thing that that documentation makes clear is that at the time in question Stankovic was undergoing medical treatment in Yugoslavia and could in no way have been able to perform any mass celebrating 10 April in Buenos Aires or anywhere else. Much less clear and more disturbing are certain quite recent articles by Nenad Ivankovic, especially in SEDAM DANA, and by Stipe Bozic, a new and so far unknown name in journalism, in the weekly DANAS. These are skillfully stylized

attacks on the Metropolitan of Southern Croatia Frane Franic and a truly distasteful defense of the Theological Society with extensive quotations, especially from certain articles of Dr Tomislav Sagi-Bunc, a professor. As for the accusations against Archbishop Franic, the authors of the articles and their editors should get it straight that our domestic church, headed by its bishops, archbishops and the Holy See, will not renounce any of its pastors who down through many years as a bishop has proven his loyalty to the church as a witness, at the same time undertaking brave and risky exploratory efforts for that church to get its bearings and set up properly in the new social reality. If those authors and editors sincerely esteemed the Theological Society and its organizational intellectual leaders, they would not use them in polemics against the archbishop. As it is, they demonstrate that they actually do not esteem the TDKS, but in the short run want to use it in a political manipulation by setting it against the hierarchy and the unquestionably different opinion and disposition of the huge majority of the faithful and the clergy. Why even Blazevic, in attacking Archbishop Kuharic and Monsignor Stankovic, publicly praises the TDKS! It is difficult to foresee where that is leading and who will have the courage to unravel or sever the threads of that manipulation. On the other hand there comes the gratifying news that the Federal Court of Yugoslavia has reduced the sentence of Fra Jozo Zovko, parish priest in Medjugorje, rejecting a part of the incrimination contained in the indictment brought down in Mostar. Before the trial in Mostar and during the trial itself those responsible were advised that the expression "40 years" in a priest's sermon has a well-known biblical significance and is by no means an allusion to the anniversary of the beginning of the revolution. Now the Federal Court has at least to some extent accepted the justifiability of that objection. We hope that in these attacks on distinguished church leaders, as well as in the most recent political condemnations of the two Franciscans in a meeting of sociopolitical organizations in Duvno (OSLOBODJENJE of Sarajevo on 11 September) will not require as much investigation and as many levels of authority to see the groundlessness of the accusations. However, certain words of Hrvoje Istuk expressed at that meeting take us to a topic on which something will have to begin to be said in public not so as to exert pressure on anyone's freedom, but so as to avoid dangerous confusion. This is a phenomenon which certain bishops and numerous parish priests have been calling attention to for quite a long time now. There have been cases, they say, when certain of the best students of religion, who often are also the best students, are at the end of their secondary schooling offered membership in the League of Communists. A young man on the threshold of a career will not refuse that social recognition and affirmation of his moral and political suitability. Moreover, no one explicitly calls upon him to renounce his faith. But once he becomes a member with the best intentions, he realizes that he dare not any longer enter the church, and he discretely advises his parish priest of this so that he might understand and not hold it against him. Such people then collaborate sincerely to the good of this society, they marry in the church discretely, that is, in secret, and they also christen their children. Such behavior--wherever and to whatever extent it exists!--weakens the church and causes confusion, and certainly it does not strengthen the League of Communists. Can one blame a priest who wanted to speak openly about this phenomenon not only with his own faithful, but also with those who are responsible in sociopolitical life? So long as one wishes to speak openly and in confidence, that is a sign that intentions are good and that there is a sincere hope that a solution can be found so that we can get along.

## BISHOPS' STATEMENT AGAINST THEOLOGICAL SOCIETY CRITICIZED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Oct 82 p 5

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic: "The Bishops' Moral Execution"]

[Text] This year's autumn convention of the Conference of Yugoslav Bishops (held in Djakovo from 27 to 29 September) will certainly be remembered for the decision which our bishops made (finally) to carry out a (for the present) moral execution of the "Christianity Today" Theological Society [TDKS] of Zagreb. The formal basis of this was that famous Vatican statement "Quidam episcopi" (which, to go back, forbids clerical associations whose obvious or clandestine purpose is political activity or, on the other hand, trade union organizations relative to the bishop as an employer), which no intelligent person any longer doubts was "elicited" above all at the request of certain of our own prelates.

So it is no wonder that it was ridden so hard, as indeed is evidenced by all those attacks on the TDKS: beginning with the harangue of Archbishop Franic. From the decision of the spring meeting of the Conference of Yugoslav Bishops [BKJ], which formed the commission which was supposed to conduct a study as to whether the activity of the TDKS was falling off as a result of the "Quidam episcopi" to this fall's assembly and its statement. Over that same time period nothing has remained in Europe of the "Quidam episcopi" since it, we might mention by the way, actually decreed nothing, and therefore it has no binding force, and surely they do not have there such an episcopate.

## Petition of the Catholic "Intellectuals"

The circumstances under which the fall meeting of the BKJ was held also say much about the conditions in our church: first, Archbishop Franic came out with a new attack, who knows how many there have been, on the eve of the meeting in Djakovo ("The Church in the World"), and then the mental fever was heated up by GLAS KONCILA with articles which are truly a splendid example of the (sometimes) tragic fate of Christianity in these pages. The culmination, however, was the Croatian-language program of Vatican Radio during which (on the very day of the meeting of the BKJ) a "petition of 115 young Catholic intellectuals to the Conference of Yugoslav Bishops" was read. How suitable the petition itself was as a means of Christian "dialogue in a loving relationship" we will not analyze, since what it contains is so stupid that it



indicates very clearly the kind of Catholic "intellectuals" who are involved and what their intention was. That is, just this detail is sufficient: they (not, it seems, without a bit of the devil) believe that the TDKS Presidium offended them in its response to Archbishop Franic (published in the VJESNIK supplement SEDAM DANA on 7 August of this year), and they say: "The only thing which in this matter we request of our bishops is that they protect us from such roll calls and name-calling. We feel that the basic minimum of dialogue and freedom presupposes duality in thought, but not exclusiveness." Or, more clearly: they call upon the bishops on behalf of dialogue in the church (sic!) to forbid the theologians to speak so as to protect them (the weak Catholic "mind") from insults. The truly rather miserable gesture which compromises everything that might be called an intelligentsia, and a Catholic intelligentsia to boot.

But all these pressures did nevertheless bear fruit in the meeting. A press release from the BKJ Secretary's Office along these lines states: "The Conference of Bishops unanimously declares that priests are not allowed to be members of professional clerical societies which do not conform to the statement 'Quidam episcopi.' The TDKS is one such society."

Certainly, this statement of position contains not a word about any evidence (of the BKJ commission of inquiry) that would support the assertion of the TDKS's political or trade union activity, but on the other hand there are many echoes from the petition and similar "undertakings." Which is why the statement of the TDKS in response to that release (published in AKSA [AKTUELNA KRSCANSKA SADASNJOST], No 39, 1982) says: "We declare once again, in the deepest responsibility to God and to history, that we cannot find elements in the Vatican statement 'Quidam episcopi' whereby the 'Christianity Today' Theological Society would fall under what is condemned in that statement. 'Quidam episcopi,' that is, speaks only about clerical associations, which is not what the TDKS is, either in its bylaws or in actuality. It condemns obvious or clandestine political activity and trade union organization of the clergy relative to the bishop as employer. There is nothing of the kind in the nature, activity or goals of the 'Christianity Today' Theological Society.

#### The Society's Goals

"On the contrary, the TDKS has these tasks: 'advance and assist the professional work of its members; aid and promote theological improvement, study and information; organize meetings, lectures, conferences, scientific and other assemblies in the field of the Society's activity; nurture the study and popularization of the national legacy of theology and sacred art and creativity; promote and assist research of contemporary national and worldwide theological topics, especially those fields and issues which are relevant to the increasingly civilized relations among individuals, religions and peoples; promote cooperation with other theological institutions and initiatives and with individuals, institutions and bodies concerned with matters related or tangential to theology within the country and abroad and conclude self-management accords with them if necessary or enter into associations for federation; offer professional theological assistance wherever it is sought, necessary or suitable; obtain or secure funds, aids and all other resources for achieving the

purposes and performing the tasks of the Society; see to the social welfare of its members and employees and also show concern for their other needs' (Article 7 of the TDKS Bylaws).

"And the actual work and deeds of the 'Christianity Today' Theological Society are accessible to anyone and well known to the entire public from its catalogues, bulletins and reports on its symposiums and statements."

It is obvious: the arguments in the meeting of the BKJ did not play any role whatsoever, since it was not the truth that was aimed at, but an a priori condemnation.

#### "Revanchism"

The following passage from the press release is more than symptomatic in this context: "The bishops also unanimously and most resolutely reject the serious political insinuation with which the 'Christianity Today' Theological Society's Presidium burdens all those who take a critical attitude toward the TDKS (compare VJESNIK--SEDAM DANA, 7 August 1982). This has carried the ecclesiological problem within the church into the field of politics, which the bishops must condemn. No one can be proclaimed a revanchist and a man who wishes slaughter because he feels that an association of theologians outside jurisdiction of the bishops is harmful to the unity of the church."

It must immediately be said that of all that the TDKS Presidium wrote in its response to Archbishop Franic only one word "revanchism" was mentioned (as though by some rule) in the subsequent debate. Everything turned on that word, and there was a constant expression of horror ("The Church in the World," GLAS KONCILA) just as now. Supposedly because only in connection with that word was it possible to say anything, and that on the condition that the meaning of its use be falsified.

Here is what the TDKS has said in its most recent statement: "We deeply regret and are seriously offended by what is stated in the last two passages of the press release of the Secretary's Office of the Conference of Yugoslav Bishops, since we cannot understand how the Conference of Yugoslav Bishops could find in the text of our Presidium dated 7 August 1982 what is attributed to it in the press release. The text of ours in question made in response to Monsignor Franic reads as follows: 'And in conclusion we believe that every well-intentioned and thinking man who is not a fanatic sectarian or narrow-minded dogmatic will see the obvious value of our task to all human beings in these latitudes, and we know that this has not gone unnoticed even in the most conscious circles of the European continent, which are following with great attention and approval this particular development of humanity and freedom within Yugoslav socialist society as evidenced by the activity of "Christianity Today." This angers only revanchists, though at the price of destruction and bloodshed which these people have never shrunk from in this area of the Balkans. Our own Archbishop Franic has often come out against such extremist views; he even does so in this interview. We trust him in this, since we know that he does not proceed from the same premises as those circles which are using his actions to support their own goals.'

## What Kind of Logic?

"... We think that if this passage is read with that attention that was paid to writing it, it will be clearly seen that there is nothing in it that in a manner incomprehensible to us has been attributed to it in the press release of the BKJ Secretary's Office. It is obvious that in this passage is distinction is made between those seeking abolition of the TDKS on grounds of internal church affairs (like Archbishop Franic, for example) and those who desire that because of the ramified public activity of our Society and whose premises have to do with their understanding of Marxism (sectarians and dogmatists), and finally certain people abroad who do not desire the growth of any sort of humanity and freedom of this kind in Yugoslavia (since their slogan is 'The Worse It Is, the Better!'), and for that reason are angered by the activity and existence of the TDKS (the revanchists), and who have made us aware of that in various ways. We are, then, utterly unable to see the kind of logic that can assert that this has 'carried the ecclesiological problem within the church into the field of politics' and has proclaimed to be a 'revanchist and man who wishes slaughter' anyone who 'feels that an association of theologians outside the jurisdiction of the bishop is harmful to the unity of the church.' We have never said anywhere that all those who 'take a critical attitude toward the TDKS' are revanchists."

In conclusion the theologians also say this: "We think that this present time, not only in our country, but even in the world at large, imperatively calls upon us all, regardless of where we are and what we are, to soberly and calmly promote everything that can lead toward greater understanding among people and nations, in a real dialogue for the betterment of all, so that this present moment is not turned into yet another of the sorrowful pages of the history of the church among the Croats."

## Attack on the Activity of the TDKS

These last words, we believe, indicate rather clearly the gravity of that moral execution by the bishops. Not only because it could be the first step toward a final showdown with the TDKS, but also because even now it is putting the Society in a very difficult position within the church, dangerously compromising it in the eyes of the faithful. In practical terms: this is a specific assault on the activity of the TDKS as set forth in the bylaws of the Society itself and as it actually is. And it is here, then, that lies the entire paradox: After all, everything which the TDKS has done, to speak in the most general terms, to broaden religious culture in these parts (by its large-scale publishing house), which has become the largest publishing house of its kind in this part of Europe--that (official) church itself now all of a sudden wants to destroy! We doubt that anything like this has ever happened anywhere and that anything like this will ever happen. And to make matters worse, it is being done on the basis of an unproven assertion (that the TDKS supposedly is liable under the "Quidam episcopi") and a misunderstood and then also erroneously interpreted passage (but not without a bit of the devil)! What is one to say to this?

Either those are not the real reasons, or this episcopate (the most influential part of it) has lost all sense of time and space. That is, in that decision the official church is not bearing witness only against the TDKS (which is to say some 70 theologians, the same number of staff members, and, if it can be so put, their numerous Christian sympathizers), but also against itself, since it has shown more than obviously that for it evangelization can under certain circumstances become quite a secondary matter and, what is more, that if necessary it itself knows how to stand in the way of spreading the "good news." This is being done in neglect of the cost and also of the truth. All that remains is the interest of an autarchic use of power at the service of a particular ideology.

#### This Is Not a Matter Confined to the Church

Yet to analyze this posture would be to repeat everything that we have written in the recent past on this topic. So what needs to be said on this occasion is this: when all the reasons are ultimately reduced to their last basis, it very clearly turns out that the only fault of the "Christianity Today" Theological Society is that through its religious and cultural work it has borne witness (always dangerous to certain spirits) that in this country, in spite of everything, they can promote fundamental religious-church interests and that in this society there is room for both the church and for religion. That is, the misfortune is that the TDKS is a religious-church phenomenon that has sprung up spontaneously on this soil, has a European rank in its spirit and aspiration and in its contribution to theological and religious culture of this region. And that has always been a great sin from the standpoint of an outlook of ours which in many respects is still colonial. Finally, how is it that such "institutions" as the TDKS can exist peacefully all over Europe (certainly western Europe), while something similar exists (just as peacefully) even in Slovenia? We fear that the BKJ would not be able to answer that question coherently.

So all the things that have been happening concerning the TDKS are not a matter confined only to the church, as our bishops would very much like to show, but in a way is also a concern of the broader social community, but not because it has had any particular interest in the TDKS, but because the aim being taken at that Society is actually meant for that community itself.

It is no longer, then, just a question of the "unity of the church," but of an attitude (political) toward that reality. The Theological Society has just found itself by accident in that forked stick, and that is all the guilt it bears.

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